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THE IRISH COLLEGE IN PARIS, A.D. 1578-1901

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With a Brief Account of the other Irish Colleges in France: viz., Bordeaux, Toulouse, Nantes, Poitiers, Douai and Lille; and a Short Notice of the Scotch and English Colleges in Paris

By the Rev.
PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.,
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To

HIS EMINENCE

Michael Cardinal Logue,

ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH AND PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.

WHO, AS PROFESSOR,

WAS, BY HIS VIRTUES AND HIS LEARNING,

A MODEL AND A LIGHT,

AND WHO, AS HEAD OF THE IRISH EPISCOPATE, BY

HIS WISE AND PATERNAL CARE

IS NOW A FATHER TO THE COLLEGE, THIS

VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

The Author.

Irish College, Paris,
May 24, 1901.

PREFACE

THE object of the present work is to give an outline of the history of the Irish College in Paris during the three centuries of its existence. An interesting sketch of the history of the college was written by the late Rev. Thomas Murphy, C.M., and printed first in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in 1866, and afterwards in pamphlet form. Father Murphy's pamphlet being long out of print, the present writer obtained his consent to republish it. However, having been placed under the necessity of making himself acquainted with the history of the college, partly by official duties, and partly by inquiries from many quarters, and amongst others from such men as the late learned Canon Bellesheim, many facts and details not referred to by Father Murphy were brought to his knowledge. He resolved therefore to go over the whole subject, and after examining the documents within his reach, to give the result of his own reading. And this is what he aims at in the following pages.

In preparing this account of the history of the college he has relied first of all on official and authentic documents, such as royal decrees, rules approved by ecclesiastical authority, wills

of benefactors, official acts and reports of administrators and superiors.

He has also consulted manuscripts and works in which reference is made to the college, and in particular the works of which a list is printed at the beginning of this volume.

Some of these authorities he found specially useful and interesting.

One is the manuscript entitled "De Præsulibus Hiberniæ" (pp. 1-1081), written in Paris towards the close of the seventeenth century, by Rev. John Lynch, Archdeacon of Tuam, and a copy of which exists in the Mazarin library. To this work he is indebted for an authentic and almost contemporary account of the origin of the college.

A second authority is the Declaration of the Irish priests against Jansenism in 1651, in which the names of the signatories are preserved. That document is printed at the end of the first chapter of this history.

He has also found valuable information in the registers of the meetings of the masters of the German nation in the University of Paris. These registers deal directly with university business, but at the same time they furnish independent and contemporary evidence regarding the Irish College. In some instances there is mention of the college as the place where a religious service for a deceased member of the nation was celebrated; and in many cases it is

stated that the procurator elected is a provisor of the Irish College.

These official registers are interesting on other grounds. They show the honourable position occupied by Irishmen in the University of Paris for two centuries. In the faculty of Arts many Irishmen were professors of rhetoric and of philosophy; the majority of the procurators of the German nation were Irishmen, and an O'Connell held that office in 1790. In the faculty of Medicine Dr Murry, an Irishman, occupied a chair. In the faculty of Theology Irishmen held chairs in the College of Navarre and in the Sorbonne itself. An Irishman held the office of Rector of the University in 1701-2. As an instance of the status of the Irish in the University, an extract from the minutes of one of the University meetings is given in the Apppendix no. 8.

To the "Correspondance Secrète" of l'Abbé Salamon with Cardinal Zelada in 1791-92, recently published by the Vicomte de Richemont, the author is indebted for many interesting details concerning the Lombard College and its superior, Dr Walsh, during those years; and he desires to express to M. le Vicomte his thanks for having made him acquainted with the above-mentioned correspondence, and for having placed at his disposal some unpublished documents relative to that period.

To the history of the Irish College in Paris

is added a short account of the other Irish Colleges in France, as well of the English and Scotch colleges in Paris. The Paris College became heir by default of all the Irish colleges on French territory; and for some time the English and Scotch colleges in Paris formed but one establishment with it. Its history would therefore be incomplete without some account of them. In appendix no. 12 will be found an interesting prospectus of the united colleges dated 1805.

In the appendices many interesting documents are given, some emanating from ecclesiastical authority, such as the rules of discipline made in 1626 and in 1679, and others emanating from the civil power and securing the legal status of the college.

Amongst the documents the first place is given to a sermon of Bourdaloue. Apart from its excellence as a model of eloquence, the sermon is a document of historical value, showing what were the circumstances in which the Irish students were placed and what was the reputation they enjoyed at the close of the seventeenth century. The writer desires to express his thanks to the Rev. Père Cherot, S.J., for having drawn his attention to the sermon of Bourdaloue.

The list of bishops educated in the college is no doubt far from complete. Neither has it been possible to give a full list of the

provisors of the Lombard College. The list of rectors of the actual college is complete from 1769 to the present time.

Since this work was sent to the press the author has been able to verify a quotation given on the authority of Bellesheim on page 18. It is taken from a poem of Rulhiere (1735-1791), "Sur les Disputes." The lines have been quoted differently by authors. In the complete edition of Rulhiere's works, Paris, 1819, they are as follows:

> Venez-y, venez voir, comme sur un théâtre
> Une dispute en règle, un choc opiniâtre.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Des moines echauffés, vrai fléau des docteurs;
> De pauvres Hibernois, complaisants disputeurs
> Qui fuyant leur pays pour les saintes promesses
> Viennent vivre à Paris d'arguments et de Messes.

In these lines he refers to a theological disputation, and by implication pays a tribute to the dialectic skill of the Irish. Like Santeul he places them next to the monks.

This account of the history of the college is far from being as finished as the writer could wish. It has been undertaken to meet the desire expressed from time to time by former students of the college to know something of the history of their Alma Mater. If the work meets their approval the author will have obtained the end he had in view. Yet he is not without a hope that the history of a col-

lege which for three centuries has served the Church in Ireland faithfully; which has numbered amongst its rectors an agent of the Confederation of Kilkenny, a confidant of Charles II of England, and a counsellor of Louis XIV of France—an establishment for which Bourdaloue preached and O'Connell pleaded, will be of interest to others besides.

Irish College, Paris,
May 24, 1901.

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The Irish College in Paris from 1578 to 1901

CHAPTER I

THE religious persecutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries inflicted many evils on Ireland; of these not the least serious was the destruction of her schools. In consequence of the difficulty of obtaining ecclesiastical education, the extinction of the Irish priesthood must have followed, had not the charity of Catholic nations on the continent provided a remedy. Rome, ever watchful over the interests of religion, welcomed Irish students, and opened a college for them in the centre of Christendom. Catholic Spain founded and endowed many colleges for Irish ecclesiastics in the Peninsula and in the Low Countries. Nor was Portugal without a share in the good work. Chivalrous France equalled or surpassed the other Catholic nations in her liberality to Irish students. Under the protection of the kings of France many Irish colleges sprang up and flourished: of these the most important was the Irish Seminary in Paris. The object of these pages is to give some account of that establishment from its origin down to the present time.

The history of the Irish College in Paris may be divided into four periods. The first

period extends from its origin in 1578 to the year 1677; the second from 1677 to the great Revolution in France; the third from the outbreak of the Revolution to 1824; and the fourth from 1824 to the present time.

Before, however, entering on the history of the college, it will be useful to make a brief reference to the University of Paris, under whose influence it was brought. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the organization of that great university had reached its full development. Like the other great universities it had its rector, its masters and its scholars. It had also the four great faculties of theology, law, medicine and arts. The rector governed the university with the aid of a council. Each faculty was composed of a body of professors presided over by a dean. The faculty of arts was further divided into nations, and the nations again into tribes. In the University of Paris there were four nations: the French, the Picard, the Norman and the English. In course of time—partly on account of the excellence of the universities at home and partly on account of the wars with France—English students ceased to come to Paris, and the German nation took the place of the English in the university system. The masters of each nation elected a procurator to represent them in their relations with the university. The procurators of the nations elected the rector, and together with the deans of the faculties, a secretary, a syndic and a receiver, they formed his council and aided him in the government of the university.*

* Crevier, *Histoire de l'Université*. *Dictionnaire Catholique*, par Goschler, Art. Université. France was styled

Besides the division into nations and faculties there was a further division into colleges. When universities were first established, but little provision was made for students beyond the lectures to which they were admitted. In course of time houses of residence were opened. The religious orders, too, founded convents for their own students; such houses were called colleges. Gradually a change took place; the more important colleges provided a staff of professors to give lectures in their own halls. Colleges possessing such a staff were called colleges "de pleine exercice," while those whose students were obliged to go elsewhere for lectures were called colleges "sans exercice."

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, besides the great College of the Sorbonne there existed in the University of Paris ten colleges of "pleine exercice," namely, the colleges of Harcourt, Cardinal Lemoine, Navarre, Beauvais, Montaigu, Lisieux, de la Marche, des Grassins, Plessis and Mazarin. There were also many colleges "sans exercice."

In the course of our narrative the Irish students will be found in relation with one or other of these colleges, and many Irishmen will be found taking their place in the meetings of the German nation and representing it as procurators.

Doubtless at an early date students from Ireland had attended the University of Paris. Indeed scholars from Ireland may be said to have founded it, or, at least, to have prepared

Honoranda, Picardy Fidelissima, Normandy Veneranda, Germany (composed of the Tribus Insularum, et Tribus Continentium) was styled Constantissima.

the way for its foundation.* But the first authentic record we have of Irish ecclesiastical students, as forming a distinct body in the colleges of Paris, is found in De Gaulle's "History of Paris." That author states† that in the year 1578 the Rev. John Lee arrived in Paris accompanied by six Irish students, and entered the Collège Montaigu. This college was then celebrated for the severity of its discipline and for the brilliancy of its students. The learned John Standone‡ had been its rector in 1485; Erasmus had resided in it in the sixteenth century. Its students were so well-versed in the Greek language that in 1619 they sustained theses in philosophy and theology for three days, using the Greek language in defence and in attack.

From the Collège Montaigu the Irish students passed after some time, it is said, to the College of Navarre. The College of Navarre was famed for the rank as well as for the talent of its students, and the celebrity of its professors. Here Henry III and Henry IV, Cardinal D'Ailly and Gerson, here also Richelieu, and a little later Bossuet, were students.

It is impossible to determine how long the Irish students resided at the Colleges of Montaigu and Navarre. It is certain, however, that in the early years of the seventeenth century they

* In Register No. 30 of the Conclusions of the German Nation Donat O'Lery inserts an extract from the preface of Usher's Sylloge, and places it under the following heading: "Indiculus quorumdam legitimorum, quibus constat Hiberniam omnium olim genere scientiarum floruisse, et Parisiensis Academiæ matrem esse, ac consequenter Coloniensis aviam, Lovaniensis proaviam."

† Vol. IV, pp. 236-237.

‡ De Gaulle, vol. II, p. 466.

had a college of their own. In a work published at Antwerp in 1621,* the writer makes the following statement: "In the city of Paris we have a seminary of at least twenty-four priests and students, supported formerly at the expense of the great L'Escalopier, and now aided by the benevolence of his widow and of other persons who fear and love God, and under the wise government of a truly worthy man, Rev. John Ley." Again, in the brief by which the Rev. Thomas Dease is appointed Bishop of Meath in 1621, he is styled Rector of the Irish Seminary in Paris.† Later on, in 1624, the Rev. Thomas Messingham published at Paris his Florilegium, or "Lives of Irish Saints"; and in the preface to that work he subscribes himself rector of the Irish Seminary.

In the same year five of the bishops of Ireland wrote a joint letter, recommending the Irish students to the liberality of the heads of the university, and to that of the clergy and laity in Paris; and in it they state that Dr Messingham is the rector of the Irish Seminary in Paris. Such is the evidence we possess of the origin of the Irish College in Paris, and whatever seems conflicting in it is cleared away by the testimony of Rev. John Lynch, Archdeacon of Tuam. In his manuscript "Lives of the Irish Bishops" ‡ he refers to the origin of the Irish College. He states that Thomas Dease made his studies in Paris, and took his degree with applause, and

* *Hiberniæ, sive antiquioris Scotiæ Vindiciæ adversus immodestam parechbasim Thomæ Demspteri,* auctore G. H. Veridico Hiberno.

† Brady's *Episc. Success.*, vol. I, p. 238.

‡ De Præsulibus Hiberniæ, in the Mazarin Library, Paris, MS. no. 1869.

that John Lee, in extreme old age, recalled Dease to Paris to continue his work; that what Lee commenced Dease continued, and Thomas Messingham completed. Thus we have a chain of contemporary evidence as to the commencement of the Irish College. After the consecration of the Most Rev. Dr Dease, Dr Messingham continued the good work. Under his government the Seminary became fully organized. In 1623 a royal permission to receive alms and donations had been granted to the Irish students. This permission was notified to the Rector of the University in 1624. The Rector issued an order authorizing the Irish establishment. But he laid it down as a condition that it should bear the name of Seminary, and that the superior and students should swear to pay respect to the Rector, and observe all the laws and customs of the University of Paris.* In 1626 the Archbishop of Paris approved rules for the government of the Irish Seminary. How long Dr Messingham survived to carry on the good work is difficult to determine. In the Register of the proceedings of the German nation we find mention of him as procurator in 1632, in the following terms: "Procuratio Magistri Thomæ Messingham, diœcesis Midensis in Hibernia, Presbyteri et Seminarii Hibernorum, Parisiis, moderatoris." Somewhat later, in the year 1638, we find recorded amongst the acts of the Archbishop of Paris the appointment of a superior of the Irish community in Collegio Berodiano.† The name of the person appointed is not given.

* Jourdain, *Histoire de l'Université de Paris,* vol. I, p. 104.
† Sauval, vol. III, p. 187. Probably the College of Boncour.

After an interval of a few years we find another proof of the existence of the Irish Seminary. Sauval makes mention of a Sieur Tirrel as superior of the Irish College.* Again in 1652 an Irish theologian, Father John Ponce, a friar minor, and a native of Cork, and some time Professor of Theology at St Isidore's in Rome, published in Paris his "Integer Theologiæ Cursus ad Mentem Scoti." Amongst the approbations obtained for the publication of this work the first is that of Edward Tyrell, Doctor of Theology of the faculty of Paris and Socius of Navarre. It is dated from the Irish College, Paris. Later still, in 1656, there is mention in Sauval of a Sieur Taf who was at the head of an Irish community near the monastery of St Germain des Prés. Thus we have a chain of evidence extending over the greater part of the seventeenth century as to the existence of the Irish Seminary.

As the century advanced, persecution at home became more violent, the tide of emigration to France increased, and it is probable that the buildings of the Irish Seminary were unable to afford shelter to all the students who came to Paris, and that it was necessary to open more than one house of residence. And we have proof of this in the letters patent granted in 1672 to the community, whose existence was authorized in 1623, to purchase a house of residence, and to devote to that purpose a gift of 10,000 livres they had been offered for this object.† But we may justly regard the Irish Seminary as the centre of the Irish colony, and the Irish students at Paris as forming one body.

* Sauval, vol. I, p. 494. † See Document no. 5.

Now it may be asked, what manner of life did the Irish students lead, what studies did they make, how did they find means of subsistence in a foreign land, what reputation did they enjoy, and what manner of men did they become?

From the rules approved by the Archbishop of Paris in 1626, the manner of life and the course of studies followed by the Irish students may be easily gathered.

According to those rules, the students rose daily at half-past four in the morning. At five they assembled for vocal prayer and meditation; they assisted at daily Mass, which was celebrated for the Church, for benefactors, and for the welfare of the Seminary. At 11 a.m. they dined, and supped at 6 p.m., except on fast days, when the dinner and collation were respectively an hour later. On Fridays they abstained from supper in honour of the Passion, except during the time from Christmas to the Epiphany, and during Paschal time. Each day those in holy orders recited Matins and Lauds in common, and on the first Monday in each month the Office of the Dead was recited for deceased benefactors. Night prayer was said at 8 p.m., and at nine all retired to rest.

The students attended the classes at one of the colleges of the university; those attending distinct classes were required to go and return in a body.

Each year there were examinations. Students who were not considered capable of excelling in scholastic studies were required to apply themselves to theology and sacred Scripture for two years and a half. Such as possessed more brilliant talents were obliged to devote two years to the

study of philosophy and three years and a half to theology and Scripture. Such is an outline of the Irish student's life in Paris in the seventeenth century. Few will question that it was well adapted to form virtuous and practical men.*

But what means of support had those exile students? It was penal for them to leave Ireland for the purpose of obtaining education abroad. It was penal for friends or benefactors at home to send them means of support. They must often have experienced the bitterness of poverty. But God raised up generous friends to help them. In the first years of the existence of the Irish community in Paris a truly great and generous nobleman, John de l'Escalopier, Baron de St-Just, and president of the parliament of Paris, took the Irish students under his protection. He provided a house for their residence, and out of his own means he supplied their wants. Dr Messingham, in the preface to his "Florilegium," places on record how much the Irish students were indebted to the charity of that great man. He tells how the baron, accustomed to the highest society in the French capital, loved to spend entire days with the Irish priests, sitting at their humble board and joining in their conversation. He tells how l'Escalopier purposed to endow the college with a fixed revenue, and how, when the students were prepared to return to missionary work in their native land, he brought them to the Jesuit, Father Binet, to be examined, and having procured for them certificates of capacity from the archbishop of Paris, he provided them with an outfit and with means to defray the expenses of their journey. The

* See Document, no. 3 in appendix.

liberality, says Messingham, of that great man we should never forget. His pious wish has not been in vain. A tablet on which the name of the Baron de l'Escalopier is inscribed has been erected in the present Irish College, to perpetuate the memory of the first great benefactor of the Irish students.

When the Baron de l'Escalopier went to his reward in 1620, his pious widow and other charitable persons continued to support the institution he loved. Charitable gifts were received, and it was prudent to secure their transmission to other students still to come. For this object a petition was presented to the King of France. By letters patent, dated September 16, 1623, Louis XIII granted to—"aucuns prestres et écoliers Hybernois"—certain Irish priests and students an authorization to receive gifts and alms to enable them to continue their studies. This act was doubly valuable. It was a royal permission to appeal for alms, and it conferred on the Irish students in Paris a legal existence as a corporation under the law of the land.* To give still greater weight to the appeal of the students a joint letter was addressed by five of the bishops of Ireland to the nobility, clergy and heads of the university, testifying to the need for help and to the good that was being done in Ireland by the priests who had studied in Paris. No doubt this appeal met with a generous response.†

Charitable friends did not fail the Irish students. In the middle of the seventeenth century the man who was the soul of every charitable work in Paris was Vincent de Paul. His monastery was open to exiled Irish priests

* See Document, no. 5. † See Document, no. 2.

and bishops. It is recorded in his life that several of his first missioners were Irishmen. No doubt they were men who had gone to Paris to study, and had learned to admire the charity of the holy man. It is recorded also that he took particular care of the poor Irish priests in exile in Paris, and that he himself paid the expenses of several Irish students who were pursuing a course of studies in France.* We may, therefore, justly claim Vincent de Paul as a friend and benefactor of the Irish students in Paris.†

But amongst the benefactors of the Irish students none better deserves to be held in grateful remembrance than William Bailly, titular abbot of St-Thierry, near Rheims. William Bailly was born at Paris, about 1622, of an old and distinguished family of lawyers. He entered the ecclesiastical state, and was made commendatory abbot, but through humility he would not advance higher than the order of deacon. He devoted himself to the study of law, and practised as Ecclesiastical Counsellor, and afterwards as Advocate General. In this capacity his delight was to plead the cause of the widow and the orphan. But for none had he more ardent charity than for the Irish students who flocked to Paris to obtain the education denied them at

* Abelly, *Vie de St-Vincent,* ed. 1843, vol. II, p. 289.

† At this time (A.D. 1640) there lived another zealous priest, the Abbé Claude Bernard, styled "the poor priest." This pious man spent a large fortune in works of charity. He founded a seminary for the support of thirty-three poor students in honour of the thirty-three years of our Lord's life. This seminary, known as the Trentetrois, stood in the Rue Montagne Ste Geneviève, and in later times gave hospitality to Irish students for whom there was not room at the Irish College. *Les Saints Prêtres Français au XVIIe Siècle*, p. 30.

home. By his influence he assisted Dr Maginn and Dr Kelly to acquire possession of the Lombard College for the Irish. When it was acquired, we read in his life that he continued his charitable assistance. He paid the bills of the butcher and the baker, and he provided the poorer students with clothes. There were many Irish ecclesiastics whom the new college could not accommodate. These he collected into houses of residence, one of which was in the Rue d'Enfer. To fifteen Irish students in the college Sainte-Barbe he gave 150 livres each a year. To twelve others in the college Montaigu he gave 100 livres each, besides providing them with clothes. The author of his life states that the Abbé Bailly contributed to the foundation of a college in Kilkenny; and this statement is confirmed by a contemporary witness. Rev. Donat O'Lery, a priest of the diocese of Ossory, who was procurator of the German nation in 1692, states in the official register that he himself had been sent by Bailly in 1687 to found a college in Kilkenny, but after a few months' trial he found it necessary to abandon the project.* The Abbé Bailly carried on his charities beyond the period of which we are now treating, and at his death, in 1692, he bequeathed by will 12,000 livres to the Lombard College; and to show still more his love for the Irish he directed that his heart should be interred in the sanctuary of the college chapel beneath the place where the priest is accustomed to stand when beginning Mass.†

* Register 30.

† O'Lery further states that in 1689 he obtained from James II letters patent establishing a university at Kilkenny,

His body was interred in the church of St-Eustache, and an inscription was placed over his tomb commemorating his love for the Irish students.*

Nor was it in Paris alone that the Irish students found benefactors. In Rome their interests were not forgotten. At the petition of Archbishop Fleming of Dublin, His Holiness Urban VIII by a Bull dated July 10, 1626, granted to Irish students in France, Spain and the Low Countries a privilege authorizing them, on being presented by the superiors of the colleges in which they dwelt, to receive orders without dimissorial letters, and *extra tempora*, even on consecutive days, without any title of benefice or patrimony. This relaxation of the rigour of the canon law was a great boon to Irish students. For during the years of persecution it would have been difficult for them to communicate with their bishops at home; and, as ecclesiastical property had passed into the hands of heretics, to provide themselves with a benefice would have been impossible. The students in Paris shared in this privilege until, in conse-

with the title "Royal College of St Canice," but the victories of the Prince of Orange rendered it impossible to carry out the project (Register 30, an. 1692, p. 294).

* GULIELMUS BAILLY

Comes consistorianus et in magno Galliarum consilio post exactam per XXVII annos et amplius advocationem regiam, dignitate senatoris honorifici a præsulibus primi a rege exornatus, Sancti Theodorici abbas, in extremum amoris sui pignus erga presbyteros et pauperes Hiberniæ scholasticos, in Academiâ Parisiensi, pro fide et studiis exulantes, quos vivus impense fovit, eisdem moriens cor suum donavit.

Obiit die septima Martis anno M.DC.XCII. ætatis suæ septuagesimo secundo.

(*Les Saints Prêtres Français du XVII. Siècle*, par G. Letourneau, prêtre de Sulpice, Paris, 1897, p. 239-244.)

quence of the change of circumstances, it was withdrawn by the Holy See in 1835, at the request of the bishops of Ireland.

Besides rendering the reception of orders more easy, the Holy See did not neglect the temporal wants of the Irish students in France. Letters are extant showing the earnestness with which the Nuncios in Paris pleaded their cause. So early as 1579 Mgr Dandino,* Nuncio at Paris, writing to Cardinal Comeo at Rome appeals for help for Irish priests who were studying in Paris. And at the end of the seventeenth century, in 1698, we find that the Holy See sent in a single year the sum of 27,364 livres for the relief of exiled Irish priests, religious and students in Paris. From that sum nearly 3,000 livres were assigned to the students of the Irish Seminary.†

But what manner of men did the priests and students so educated prove themselves to be?

In Paris the Irish priests held a high rank in the university system. Doctors O'Queely, Dease and Messingham and Tyrell, O'Dwyer and Duley and many other Irishmen were procurators of the German nation. From 1632 to 1660 thirty Irish names are found on the list of procurators. Several Irishmen held chairs in the university colleges. In one of the rare records of the period we find that in 1652 an Irishman named McNamara was professor of philosophy in the college of Cardinal Lemoine. Another named O'Moloy was professor of philosophy in the College of Beauvais. A third named Poer was the professor of philosophy in the

* Bellesheim, *Catholic Church in Ireland,* vol. II, p. 718.
† *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. II, p. 347.

college of Lisieux.* Dr Edward Tyrell had acted as procurator for the German nation in 1633. At a later period we find him official agent for Ireland at the French court. In 1648 the Nuncio Rinnucini thus wrote of him to the pope: "The supreme council has several times recommended to Your Holiness Dr Edward Tirell for the coadjutorship of Dublin. I have now been requested to renew my humble offices with your beatitude and to assure you that Dr Tirell in his business at the court of the most Christian king, where he was agent for this kingdom, always behaved so as to give much satisfaction even to the ecclesiastical party." †

But of the spirit and standing of the Irish students in Paris we have the clearest testimony in their conflict with the university in 1651. At this time the question of the doctrines of Jansenius was causing much excitement in Paris. Dr Cornet had denounced five propositions taken from the "Augustinus" as deserving censure. The Jansenists, on their part, had sent M. de Saint-Amour to Rome to defend their cause. At this juncture the Irish priests in Paris published a declaration protesting against the five propositions. Jourdain, in his history of the University, thus records the incident:

"In the month of February, 1651," he writes, "a report spread that a certain number of priests belonging to the Irish College had met in the college of Lisieux in the apartment of one of their nation, M. Poerus, professor of philosophy in that college, and that they were preparing to

* Jourdain's *Hist.*, vol. I, p. 182.
† Brady's *Episc. Succ.*, II, 344-352.

issue a public declaration against the five propositions attributed to the Bishop of Ypres. They had been urged to this step by external influence, and especially by the advice of an ecclesiastic, who was then called Mr Vincent, and whom the Church was one day to honour under the name of St Vincent of Paul.*

"The rector, John Courtin, having received notice of what was going on, issued a formal order forbidding the Irish to hold meetings, and to pronounce a doctrinal sentence on any subject whatever. Twenty-six of them were assembled when this prohibition reached them. Far from obeying, on that very day they signed a declaration by which they professed their entire submission to the decrees of the œcumenical councils, especially to those of the Council of Trent, as well as to the censures pronounced by the Holy See against Baius, Jansenius and their adherents. They pledged themselves to shun in their teaching every doctrine suspected of heresy, either condemned or capable of condemnation, and especially the aforesaid five propositions."

A copy of this declaration was sent to Vincent de Paul, and published throughout Paris. The incident did not end here. The rector of the university, finding that his orders had been disobeyed, summoned such of the Irish priests as were graduates before him, and after an inquiry

* Patin, Reg^tre de la Faculté de Médicine, XIII, 481. Sunt equidem fassi ipsi Hiberni se conventum ejusmodi habuisse in Lexoveo; quamvis a Rectore fuit illis inhibitum; sed ad id inductos fuisse a quodam missionariorum principe, dicto P. Vincentio, et alio dicto Leblanc, qui cum Loyolitis illis patribus polliciti sunt Hibernis fundationem novi alicujus Collegii. See also Declaration at end of chapter.

a decree of the university tribunal was issued, stating that for several months the Irish priests had held meetings in the College of the Bons Enfants under the presidency of a priest of the Congregation of the Mission; that, in spite of a formal prohibition, they had held a meeting and published a declaration on a doctrinal subject; that their conduct was subversive of discipline, and their declaration contrary to the laws of the realm and the liberties of the Gallican Church.* This tribunal, strictly speaking, represented only the Faculty of Arts. The Irish priests appealed therefore to the Faculty of Theology and to the Parliament of Paris against the sentence as an abuse of power.

The university tribunal published a statement in its own defence entitled "Mémoire Apologétique pour les Recteur, Doyens, Procureurs et suppôts de l'Université de Paris contre l'entreprise de quelques Hybernois, la plupart étudiants à l'Université." To this the Irish priests replied by a document entitled "Factum pour servir de Réponse aux Mémoires Apologétiques faits par les Recteur, Doyens, Procureurs et suppôts de l'Université de Paris."

The Faculty of Theology, by a great majority of votes, decided in favour of the Irish priests. The Parliament also, on March 14, 1651, decided in their favour, and declared that the sentence of the university against them should not be carried out.

The advocates of the university and M. de Saint-Amour speak with contempt of the audacity of Irish priests in pronouncing upon a

* See *Journal de M. de St-Amour*, appendix, pp. 150-169.

question of faith.* They sneer at their poverty, and attribute to them interested motives. But the effort made to restrain them from publishing a declaration is the strongest proof that they were far from contemptible. Jourdain himself, though most complimentary to the Irish, looks upon the incident as an episode in a great struggle, and as showing the state of public feeling at the time. But even admitting that they were put forward by others, has not this been the lot of Irishmen on many a battlefield? And may it not be recorded with legitimate pride that on the nobler battlefield for faith the priests of the Irish College, Paris, were found, like their countrymen on other fields, both "vehement and true"?

And while the Irish students were thus zealous in the pursuit of knowledge and in defence of the faith, they were no less admirable in the practice of other virtues.

Archdeacon Lynch records that John Molony, who was afterwards Bishop of Killaloe, gave, while yet a student in Paris, evidence of

* Their opposition to Jansenism rendered the Irish students the object of lampoons. In a mock-heroic poem entitled "Victorinus Vindicatus," Santeul, a monk of St Victor's, and well-known for his Latin poems, describes a meeting at the Sorbonne at which all the colleges of the university were represented. After referring to the students from the various colleges and to the friars he adds:

"Vidi avidos vultus et mentem pasta chimæris
Spectra Hibernorum turmatim invadere portas."

Another writer quoted by Bellesheim (vol. III, page 714, note writes thus of them:

"Un tas de faux docteurs
De pauvres Hibernois, complaisants disputeurs,
Qui fuyant leurs pays pour les saintes promesses
Viennent vivre à Paris d'arguments et de Messes.

his zeal by the sermons he preached to his fellow-countrymen who were attending lectures at the Grassins College. James O'Feeley, afterwards Bishop of Ossory, imitated the example thus set. While yet a student in philosophy he preached frequently to his fellow-countrymen, and taught them sacred music, in which he himself was proficient.

At home too in Ireland the Paris students took a noble part in the work of the mission. As early as 1624 five of the Irish bishops attested their worth. "The Seminary in Paris," they wrote, "has already supplied us with many excellent workmen, remarkable for their learning, their virtue and their zeal for souls." * When the defence of morals or of faith was in question, they did not shrink from danger. Dr Geoffrey Keating protested, like the Baptist, against a violation of the moral law, and, when obliged to fly into retirement, he devoted his leisure to writing a history of Ireland in Ireland's native tongue. Another Paris student, David Omolony, Archdeacon of Killaloe, was arrested in Limerick in 1653, and sentenced to death for the faith. On January 1, 1654, he was led forth to execution. He mounted the scaffold with joy in anticipation of a martyr's crown. He addressed the people, and spoke in defence of the faith. Induced by some persons of influence the governor spared his life. The archdeacon was put back into prison, whence he escaped soon after to France.

While the Paris students in the second order of the clergy thus proved themselves excellent workmen, still more conspicuous were those amongst them who were raised to episcopal rank.

* See Document no. 2.

The first among them in order of promotion was the Most Rev. Dr Dease. He, as Lynch writes in his work, "De Præsulibus Hiberniæ," was a model of affability and of pastoral zeal, watching over his flock and promoting discipline by the synods which he celebrated. Judging that they who go to war should count the enemy's forces as well as their own, he held back from the Confederation of Kilkenny. He did his utmost, however, to mitigate the horrors of war when it broke out. At last he was obliged to fly from his diocese. In 1652 he died in Galway at an advanced age.

Still more remarkable was Dr Malachy O'Queely, Archbishop of Tuam. O'Queely had come to Paris as a student about 1612. Having obtained his degree in theology he became Professor in the College of Navarre, and was Procurator of the German nation in 1618, 1620 and 1621. In 1622 he was named Vicar Apostolic of Killaloe and afterwards promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Tuam. Briodan, the historian of his life, thus speaks of him: "O'Queely proceeded to Paris in the twentieth year of his age. Having obtained the degree of Doctor of the Sorbonne, he returned home, and was created by Urban VIII Vicar General of Killaloe and afterwards Archbishop of Tuam. No one," he continues, "was more humble or more devout, none more diligent and zealous in promoting the cause of faith, king and fatherland. He was remarkable for his hospitality, and was the protector of the poor, the widowed and the oppressed." Dr O'Queely was one of the most influential members of the Council of the Confederation of Kilkenny. Having been appointed to accompany General

Taaffe on his expedition into Connaught, Dr O'Queely fell into the hands of the parliamentary army near Sligo in 1645. He was cruelly slain, his right hand struck off and his body hacked to pieces. Thus died this intrepid man, a martyr to his country and his faith. His remains were ransomed from the enemy for £30, and interred with honour. They were afterwards taken from the tomb and entrusted to faithful guardianship, and tradition tells that many sick persons have been cured by their pious application.*

But of none was the career more brilliant than of Edmund O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick. His history, recorded in the pages of Lynch, is full of interest. O'Dwyer, after studying philosophy at Rouen, came to Paris to study theology. He took his doctor's degree, and became skilled in Latin and Greek literature, a polished orator and a keen philosopher.

Having received episcopal consecration in Paris on May 4, 1645, he set out for Ireland. The vessel in which he sailed was pursued by a pirate. When it was on the point of being captured, the bishop, to escape certain death, cast his baggage with all his episcopal ornaments into the sea. He was taken captive, and brought to Smyrna, and sold as a slave. Here he was obliged to turn a mill-stone like a beast of burden. But God had provided means for his delivery. There lived then at Smyrna a Frenchman from La Rochelle, whose wife was Irish. Like a true Irishwoman, when she learned the captivity of her countryman, she persuaded her husband to pay the price of his ransom. Dr O'Dwyer, restored to liberty, set

* Renehan, *Archbishops*, p. 402, Lynch MSS.

out for France. His first care was to requite his benefactor. Then, having provided himself with episcopal ornaments for the discharge of his office, he set out for Ireland, accompanied by the missioners whom St Vincent de Paul was sending to that country. Thus, says Lynch, he was the first who introduced the missioners into Ireland, and during the years which followed he joined them in their missionary labours, preaching and catechizing and hearing confessions like the humblest among them. At last he was obliged to go into exile, and died at Brussels in 1654.*

Instances might be multiplied, but these, which have been taken from official records and from the pages of Lynch, show that during the first century of its existence the Irish Seminary at Paris yielded to none in the scholars and the missioners and the martyrs she produced.

Declaration of the Students of the Irish College, Paris, against Jansenism. Signed by them in February, 1651

CUM nova dogmata his calamitosissimis temporibus a quibusdam doceantur, prædicentur, typis mandentur, in colloquiis familiaribus misceantur, et denique quod pejus est, catechismo, rudi et incautæ plebi proponantur cum summa animorum dissensione, periculumque sit ne aliqui ex Hibernis, qui Parisiis majori numero student, quam in ulla totius orbis civitate, his dogmatibus imbuantur, quæ in patriam nostram Hiberniam, fidei avitæque religionis tenacissimam, reduces disseminare, et incautorum animis instillare conarentur, sicque Ecclesiam Hiberni-

* *De Præsulibus Hib.*, Lynch MSS., p. 711.

cam a centum annis et amplius, hæreticorum insultibus et vehementissimis persecutionibus nimis afflictam, a decennio crudeli et periculoso bello agitatam, perturbarent, Nos infra scripti huic periculo mature pro viribus occurrere proponentes, firmiter statuimus, promittimusque nos semper adhæsuros universis conciliis æcumenicis, ac præcipue Tridentino necnon omnibus decretis ac censuris summorum Pontificum, nominatimque iis quæ lata sunt a Pio V, Gregorio XIII, Urbano VIII, et Innocentio X, contra Baium, Jansenium, eorumque sequaces. Insuper promittimus nunquam nos ex animi sententia privatim aut publice defensuros, docturos, prædicaturos, multoque minus catechismo plebi propositurus ullas propositiones de errore aut hæresi suspectas, aut quomodolibet a quovis summo Pontifice damnatas et præsertim sequentes.

Here follow the five propositions of Jansenius extracted from the Augustinus.

MAURITIUS DURCANUS, Doctor Theologus.

RICHARDUS NUGENT, Sacræ Facultatis Parisiensis, Doctor, Decanus Ecclesiæ Cluonensis.

DANIEL NUNE, Doctor Theologus.

NICOLAUS POERUS, Sacræ Facultatis Parisiensis, Baccal. apud Lexoveos Philosophiæ Professor.

THOMAS MEDUS, Sacræ Facultatis Parisiensis, Baccalaureus.

DERMITIUS HEDERMAN Sacræ Facultatis Parisiensis, Baccal. admissus et relatus.

JOANNES MOLONY, Sacræ Facultatis Parisiensis, Baccal. admissus et relatus Decanus Ecclesiæ Metrop. Cassiliensis.

CORNELIUS FOGARTY, Protonotarius Apostolicus.

BERNARD CUNLEVY, Theologus.

CAROLUS HORAN, Theologus.

JOANNES FLEMINGE, Theologus.

MORIATUS O'BRIEN, Theologus.

EUGENIUS O'KIFFE, Theologus.

EDMUNDUS BARRY, Theologus.

GULIELMUS QUAELEUS, Theologus.
PHILLIPUS LYEN, Theologus.
DONATUS HORAN, Theologus.
JOANNES CUOLLAGHAN, Theologus.
EDUARDUS CONNELL, Theologus.
GELASIUS O'MEAGHER, Theologus.
DONATUS FALVEY, Philosophus.
CONSTANTIUS BRIEN, Philosophus.
GULIELMUS GALVEUS, Philosophus.
THOMAS LAEHI, Philosophus.
JOANNES BURGO, Philosophus.
DONATUS KENNEDIE, Philosophus.
JOANNES MADDEN, Philosophus.

Omnes supra dicti sunt sacerdotes, qui superioribus suis tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus obedientiam promittunt.

Copied from the Journal de M. de Saint-Amour, pages 165–166.

The statement of case regarding the Irish protest is found in the Journal of M. de St-Amour, Histoire des cinq Propositions, Appendix, pp. 150–169.

CHAPTER II

From A.D. 1677 to the Revolution in France

A hundred years had almost elapsed since the first colony of Irish students arrived in Paris. During that period the Irish Seminary in Paris had merited well of the Church in Ireland. The time was now approaching when it would be able to do its work under more favourable circumstances than in the past. In consequence of war and persecution in Ireland the stream of Irish ecclesiastics who sought a refuge in Paris was steadily increasing. Previously existing residences were no longer sufficient. In 1672, as we have already seen, letters patent were obtained authorizing the purchase of a house of residence. But there were yet many to be provided for. We learn on reliable authority that as many as eighty Irish priests were at this time attending lectures at the Montaigu College. It happened, fortunately for the Irish students, that there were at the time two Irish ecclesiastics holding positions of influence and well known at the French court.

One of these was the Rev. Patrick Maginn, D.D., commendatory abbot of Thuley, in the diocese of Langres, and first almoner of Catherine, wife of Charles II of England. Dr Maginn was a native of county Down in Ireland, and brother of the Right Rev. Roman Maginn, vicar apostolic of Dromore. From an official despatch of Abbate Agretti in

1669 we learn something of the character of this benefactor of the Irish College. He is spoken of as Ghineo. "Patrick Ghineo," writes Agretti, "one of the Queen's principal chaplains, is in great favour with the King. He is exemplary and of 'gran bontá,' but is not capable of managing affairs well or of guarding a secret. He is chiefly useful in procuring access to his Majesty and conveying a message to him. The King willingly listens to Ghineo, in whom he places entire trust."* The other was Dr Malachy Kelly, prior of St Nicholas of Chapouin, formerly confessor of Maria Gonzaga, Queen of Poland, and afterwards almoner of Louis XIV, King of France. These two venerable ecclesiastics interested themselves in their fellow-countrymen who were students in Paris, and in 1677 they obtained a royal order authorizing the transfer of the Lombard College to the Irish students. That institution had been founded, A.D. 1333, by the Most Rev. Andrew Ghini, a Florentine, who was Bishop of Arras, for the support of eleven poor Italian ecclesiastics studying in Paris. For a brief period the Lombard College enjoyed a certain celebrity. The fame of the able but eccentric William Postel attracted students in such numbers, that it was impossible to find a hall large enough to receive them. The students stood patiently in the court of the college, and the professor delivered his lectures from a window. According to the testimony of De Gaulle, Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier spent some time at the Lombard College before entering the Collège Ste-Barbe.† Here,

* See Brady, *Ep. Suc.*, vol. I, p. 301, and vol. III, p. 117.
† De Gaulle, vol. II, p. 466.

too, the fathers of the Society afterwards dwelt until they were transferred to more commodious quarters, about 1563.* The college was under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Its official title was "House of the poor Italian Students of the Charity of our Lady."

Partly on account of the smallness of the burses, which hardly sufficed to provide necessaries, and partly on account of the fame of the universities in Italy, Italian students had long ceased to come to Paris. In 1677 the college was in ruins. At its origin it had been placed under the protection of the chancellor of Notre Dame of Paris and of the abbot of St Victor's. Under these there were provisors, who had the right to nominate students to vacant burses. In 1676 the provisors were Peter Cardinal Bonzy, archbishop of Narbonne, John Bentivoglio, abbot of St Valery, and Romulus Valenti. Negotiations were entered into with the provisors, and they nominated eleven Irish priests to the vacant burses. The act of nomination took place on July 9, 1676, and in it are preserved to us the names of the eleven Irish students who first entered on possession of the Lombard College.† By letters patent, dated August, 1677, Louis XIV ratified the transfer of the college to the Irish, and declared that the Irish priests should have full and entire possession of the Lombard College, to live according to the statutes of the said college. As has been already stated, the college was in ruins. Dr Maginn and Dr Kelly rebuilt it at their own expense, and made it a fit habitation for students. In gratitude for their munificence, the bursars elected Dr Maginn and

* Sauval, *Hist. de Paris.* † See Document, no. 9.

Dr Kelly provisors of the college for life, with the right to name their successors. In 1679 rules for the government of the college were approved by the archbishop of Paris; and in these the students were required to pray for the king of France, for the king and queen of Great Britain, and for the founders and provisors of the college. By letters patent, dated 1681, the election of the provisors was duly ratified, and it was prescribed that there should always be two provisors, one for the province of Ulster, and one for that of Munster, and that after the demise of the immediate successors of Maginn and Kelly all future provisors should be chosen by election. The chancellor of Notre Dame and the abbot of St Victor's remained patrons or major superiors with the right to preside at elections and confirm the provisors. Thus it was that the Lombard College, with its ancient constitution and privileges, passed into the hands of the Irish. There were at first only the eleven Italian burses, but besides the bursars, all the Irish priests studying in Paris whom it was possible to accommodate entered the Lombard College. The new provisors governed the institution, and the Abbé Bailly was untiring in his acts of liberality and charity towards the students. The latter were all priests who had been already ordained in Ireland. By means of the stipends they received for their Masses they were able in some degree to provide for their own support.

Soon the Lombard College became the centre of the Irish colony in Paris. Here the unfortunate James II held a levée when he returned to France after his defeat at the Boyne.* Here the

* See *Un Couvent des Religieuses Anglaises à Paris,* par l'Abbé Cedoz. Paris, 1891, p. 165.

exiled bishop of Killaloe, Dr John Molony, was interred in 1702. Here Dr Dominic Maguire, archbishop of Armagh and primate died in 1703. Here too Dr James Lynch, archbishop of Tuam, spent the last days of his exile, and died in 1713.

Meanwhile the two first provisors of the college had gone to receive their reward, Dr Maginn in April, 1683, and Dr Kelly in 1684. New provisors took their place. Students from all the provinces of Ireland had always been admitted to the college. It was now judged expedient that the office of provisor should no longer be limited to two out of the four provinces. Accordingly, with the consent of the existing provisors and the approval of the major superiors, it was arranged that Leinster and Connaught should each have a provisor, as well as Ulster and Munster. The legal instrument by which this arrangement was ratified was made in the names of Robert Cusack, priest of the province of Leinster, John Darsy, priest of the province of Connaught, Charles Magennis, priest of the province of Ulster, and Dermit O'Daly, priest of the province of Munster, representing Richard Piers, priest and provisor for Munster, who had recently set out for Ireland. This interesting document is dated August 13, 1685. At that date the number of priests in the Lombard College was thirty. By this official act the community to whom the letters patent of 1672 were granted was associated to the Lombard College, and thus the older establishment, coming down from the time of Lee and Messingham, and the more recent college were united. From 1685 to 1707 the college continued its peaceful work.

But besides the priests and a few clerics who, since 1685, had resided in the Lombard College there were many Irish ecclesiastical students in Paris who were not yet in priest's orders. Some of these, as we have already seen, were supported by the charity of the Abbé Bailly at Ste-Barbe and at the Montaigu College. Before his death in 1692 that charitable man provided a house in the Rue Traversine, near the Lombard College, and collected into it the Irish clerics who were studying in Paris. From this period we have two well marked Irish communities, one consisting of priests, in the Lombard College; the other consisting of younger clerics, in Rue Traversine.

The priests possessed the old Italian burses, and some legacies received since 1677. They had besides a means of support in the offerings received for the celebration of Mass. The situation of the clerics was more precarious. They were in receipt of 1,000 livres from the "Clergé de France." But this was but a small endowment towards their support. In 1707 they found themselves in debt. Considering, therefore, that the letters patent of 1623 made express mention of écoliers, or students, as well as of priests, the clerics thought they had a claim to a share in the benefits of the Lombard College. They accordingly appealed to the king; and by a decree of July 15, 1707, it was decided that the letters patent of 1681, granting the Lombard College to the priests, should be modified, and that in future the écoliers or clerics should be admitted to the college, should share in its endowments, and form one community with the priests. It was decided also that

the college should pay 2,000 livres towards extinguishing the debts of the clerics. Moreover, it was prescribed that the écoliers should be governed according to the rules of the Lombard College, and should have no provisor or économe other than those of the said college. The community of priests accepted this decision, and the clerics entered their new abode, both communities living together as one. The quiet tenor of scholastic life went on until 1717. In that year, in consequence of certain disagreements, the rector of the university drew up new rules for the government of the college. For a time harmony was restored; but in 1724 the priests insisted that the clerics having an equal share in the advantages of the college should throw into the common fund their endowment of 1,000 livres. The clerics again appealed to the king. Their petition was referred to the archbishop of Paris. By his advice, as well as through the influence of Cardinal Fleury, to whom the Rev. Andrew Donlevy, prefect of the clerics, was favourably known, a new code of rules was drawn up for the government of the college, and ratified by royal authority in 1728.*

By these rules it was laid down that the college should be under the control of the archbishop of Paris, and subject to the university, and that it should consist of two communities, one of priests and the other of clerics.

The rules provided also for the form of government, for the discipline and for the studies.

With regard to the system of government it was prescribed that there should be four pro-

* See Document no. 7.

visors—one for each province of Ireland—together with a priest to preside over the clerics, called their prefect. The election of provisors was to be triennial, and to be made in the presence of the chancellor of Notre Dame and the abbot of St Victor's. The students in theology and philosophy from each province elected their own provisor; and no one was eligible to that office but a priest who was a native of the province and who had taken at least the degree of master of arts at the university of Paris. When the election was over, it belonged to the archbishop to confirm it, and to assign to the provisors their respective duties. One provisor was named principal; a second, prefect of studies and of the priests; a third, chaplain; and the fourth, économe. The archbishop appointed the prefect of the clerics.

The provisors were obliged to reside in the college during their term of office, and on its expiry they might be re-elected for a further term. Each week the principal was directed to take counsel with the other provisors and with the prefect of the clerics on the affairs of the college.

For sake of order it was prescribed that a separate portion of the college buildings should be assigned to the clerics, and that they should have a refectory of their own apart from the priests. Both communities were directed to perform the daily and yearly exercises of piety customary in seminaries. The priests were exhorted to read each day a chapter of the Bible.

With reference to the studies it was laid down that two years should be devoted to philosophy and four to theology, under such

professors as the Prefect of Studies and the Principal should direct. Those who were judged competent were allowed to present themselves, after their fourth year's theology, for the degree of Bachelor in Theology or Canon Law. They were then to leave the college and return to their dioceses, under penalty of being prohibited from celebrating Mass and of forfeiting their academic privileges unless their own bishops consented to their longer sojourn in France. An exception was made in favour of those considered capable of competing for the Licentiate. These were permitted to reside in the college two additional years.

The provisors in office when these rules came into operation were: the Rev. John Farely, for Ulster; the Rev. Mark Kirwan, for Connaught; the Rev. John Bourk, for Munster; and the Rev. Walter Daton, for Leinster. The Rev. Andrew Donlevy was prefect of the clerics. To the major superiors above-mentioned, namely, the chancellor of Notre Dame and the abbot of St Victor's, the archbishop added another, who was to be his own representative. The person appointed was the Abbé de Vaubrun, doctor and professor of the Sorbonne.

For eighteen years this learned and benevolent man was a vigilant patron and benefactor of the college. Aided by him the principal, Dr Farely, had new buildings erected capable of lodging from fifty to sixty additional priests. As soon as the buildings were fit for habitation, we are told that within twenty-four hours every room was occupied.

The Abbé de Vaubrun added another benefit. He caused a new church to be erected by the

CHAPEL OF THE LOMBARD COLLEGE, RUE DES CARMES 25.

REBUILT 1730.

distinguished architect Boscry, the façade of which was ornamented with Ionic and Corinthian columns. At his death he bequeathed to the college he loved so well the sum of 30,000 livres. This good man died on November 15, 1746, in the eightieth year of his age. Nor did the community forget his benefits. His name was inscribed on a memorial tablet; and it was made a rule that every priest, on being admitted to the college, should celebrate Mass at least once for this generous benefactor.

Meantime another interesting conflict took place between the college and the university.

In 1729 a strong feeling of hostility to the Jesuits was manifested in Paris; they were insulted even at the gates of their own college. The Irish College had no sympathy with the anti-Jesuit movement; it had received many benefits from the fathers of the Society. In 1579 an Irish Jesuit recommended the Irish students in Paris to the charity of the nuncio,* Mgr Dandino. A little later Father Binet stood their friend; about 1673, at the request of Dr Talbot† of Dublin, Father Ferrier, the king's confessor, interested himself in their favour. In fine, Bourdaloue had raised his eloquent voice in their behalf, and had preached a sermon ‡ in which he spoke with all his powerful eloquence of the virtues of the Irish students, and appealed to the charitable ladies of Paris to contribute to the support of the Irish Seminary.

The Irish College had not forgotten so many services. To show its appreciation of the Society

* Bellesheim, vol. II, p. 718. † Renehan, p. 456.

‡ See Bourdaloue, *Exhortations*. Sermon on text, "Zelus domus tuæ comedit me." Documents no. 1.

a Jesuit was invited to preach on St Patrick's day, 1730, and the following notice was published: "Notice to persons devout to St Patrick. You are informed that on Friday, March 17, the feast of St Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, will be celebrated in the chapel of the Lombard College, Rue des Carmes, High Mass at ten o'clock precisely. Sermon by the Rev. Father Tournemines of the Company of Jesus; and Vespers after."*

The enemies of the Jesuits were on the alert, and they procured an order from the rector of the university forbidding the superiors of the Irish College to allow Father Tournemines to preach. No doubt, as they were subject to the rector, they were obliged to submit; but the incident is not without interest, as showing the respect in which the fathers of the Society were held by the Irish, as well as the manner in which the feast of the Apostle of Ireland was celebrated in Paris in the eighteenth century.

In 1731 the election of provisors took place in peace, the previous provisors being re-elected. In 1734, four new provisors—the Abbés Duffy, MacMahon, Geoghegan and Black—were elected in due form. The result of the election was not acceptable to one or two of the former provisors; and, on an appeal to the king, the new appointments were suspended. It was moreover maintained by some that it would be more for the advantage of the Church in Ireland to discontinue the practice of sending priests already ordained to study in Paris, and that the college ought to be reserved for the use of those who were only clerics. The priests drew up a state-

* Jourdain, *Hist. de l'Université*, p. 357.

ment in their own defence as well as in support of the election of provisors. They appealed to the bishops of Ireland to sustain them. The majority of the bishops warmly espoused their cause. The archbishops of Dublin, of Tuam and of Cashel, with their suffragans, wrote joint letters declaring that the community of priests was the one on which they most relied for a supply of missioners for their dioceses. Not satisfied with this, the archbishop of Tuam wrote on behalf of the priests to Cardinal Corsini at Rome, requesting the aid of his influence with Cardinal Fleury. He wrote also to Cardinal Fleury himself, and to the archbishop of Paris, imploring them to protect the community of priests.

Nor were the bishops of the Northern Province less earnest. In a letter to Rev. A. Donlevy, prefect of the clerics, the bishop of Raphoe wrote, in 1735, in these terms: "Permit me to repeat to you that I know only two missioners from your community in this whole province; and, if the project of giving over the college to the juniors succeeds, it will be all over with the mission here, for thereby we lose our only supply." "For the last forty years," wrote the bishop of Derry, "I know no missioner or preacher in my diocese, or in the five or six surrounding ones, who has come from that community (the clerics)." However anomalous the practice of sending priests already ordained to study philosophy and theology, the circumstances of the country rendered it necessary. The priests were enabled by the stipends received for Masses to contribute towards their own support. Every six years from eighty to a hundred priests were

prepared for pastoral work. When students went to Paris at an early age it required nine or ten years to complete their education. At that time there were many attractions for Irishmen in France. The Irish Brigade was doing splendid service under the French flag. Irishmen were to be found in many parts of France occupying positions of influence. To young men of talent such a state of things opened up new prospects. Some who had gone to Paris to study for the priesthood, free from any tie of orders, found more attractive openings in the army, in the medical profession or in business. Hence it happened that the expectations of the bishops were not always fulfilled. It was asserted by the priests that in forty years, that is, from 1694 to 1734, the community of clerics had not given more than twenty-five priests to the Irish mission.

It was maintained on the other hand, on behalf of the clerics, that their education and formation was more finished, as it was commenced at an earlier age; and that they too had done excellent work for the mission, since the archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, and the bishops of Clogher, Cork, Kildare and Limerick, had belonged to their community. The priests claimed to have given to the hierarchy the archbishop of Tuam, the bishop of Clonfert, as well as his predecessor, the bishop of Elphin with his two predecessors, and the bishops of Derry, of Down and of Raphoe.

The archbishop of Paris and certain councillors of state were appointed by royal authority to examine and determine the question under discussion. The bishops of Ireland deputed the

bishop of Kilfenora, then residing at Tournay, to represent their wishes. The rector of the University of Paris also, after holding a visitation of the Lombard College, and after consultation with the council of the university, testified by an official document that the priests were of unblemished life and conduct.*

After hearing the statements on both sides, and the testimonies of the rector of the university and of the bishops of Ireland, the archiepiscopal tribunal requested the major superiors to propose a list of new provisors, who should hold office pending the further examination of the question. New provisors were, therefore, appointed.† No further decision was given, and

* Nos Baltasar Gibert, universi studii Parisiensis Rector, omnibus et singulis præsentes litteras inspecturis salutem, in eo qui est omnium salus.

Cum officium sit omnium, et eorum præsertim qui bonis viris ac studiosis præfecti sunt, de veritate testimonium cuivis perhibere, inde fit ut data diligenti operâ, pro nostro Rectoris officio, lustrationi Collegii Longobardorum, in hac nostra studiorum Universitate fundati, atque Hybernis Presbyteris clericisque instituendis addicti, testari debemus, sicuti reipsa testamur, presbyteros qui in eo Collegio degunt et versantur, suis a superioribus quos Provisores vocant, præclaram habuisse suis de moribus commendationem, privatim et publice, toto coram tribunalis academici concessu, Rectore nimirum amplissimo, Decanis Facultatum sapientissimis, ornatissimisque quatuor Nationum Procuratoribus, simul Prosyndico diligentissimo, dignissimo Scriba, et quæstore fidelissimo, ita ut nulla de re quæ pertinet ad vitam et mores a quoquam hominum, ullus presbyterorum accusaretur, sed omnes esse vitæ et conversationis inculpatæ ultro et sponte suis a superioribus prædicarentur. Quamobrem prædictis nos presbyteris perlibenter has testimoniales litteras concessimus minore nostro sigillo, nostroque nomine munitas, in ædibus nostris Mazarinæis, die mensis Junii quarto, anno redemptionis salutis humanæ millesimo septingentesimo trigesimo quinto.

GIBERT, Rector Universi Studii Parisiensis.

† Summarized from official documents in the Archives Nationales, Paris, M. 147.

no change was formally made in the constitution of the college. But from 1737 the appointment of provisors was made directly by the archbishop of Paris.

While the character of the priests was vindicated by the bishops in Ireland and by the authorities in Paris, a still more honourable testimony was borne by the nuncio at Paris with regard to their orthodoxy. In the eighteenth century France, and Paris in particular, continued to be disturbed by the Jansenist heresy. Many ecclesiastics declined to give a loyal assent to the Bull "Unigenitus." The poison of error had invaded even the sanctuary of religious life. Fears were entertained lest it should find admittance amongst the Irish priests in Paris. The nuncio, Mgr Dolci, made inquiry on the subject, and his testimony reflects the greatest honour on the Irish College and on the Irish priests. Writing from Paris on July 9, 1736, he says: "In the Irish College, consisting of about one hundred persons, profession is made of the most sound doctrine, nor is any one tolerated therein who is in the least suspected. Moreover, amongst about two hundred Irish priests who are in this city and diocese, there are hardly two or three who have appealed, and they are held in execration by all the others of their nation."* What more splendid tribute could be paid to the spirit of the Irish College and the doctrine that prevailed in it? It had not degenerated since its conflict on the question of Jansenism in 1651.

From this period for nearly thirty years the college continued its work undisturbed, and its

* Bellesheim, vol. III, p. 746, documents from Vatican archives. Nunz. de France, vol. 261.

two communities lived harmoniously together. The course of years brought new trials.

In 1762 the rector of the university issued an order that all colleges "sans exercice," having students in arts and in philosophy should combine with the College of Lisieux, and that the new establishment should be transferred to the College of Clermont, since called Louis le Grand. The Lombard College fell within the provisions of this order. The provisors and the prefect of the clerics felt it their duty to petition for an exemption from it. The petition which they presented contains many interesting details about the Irish College and its students at the time. It states that the number of students in the college was then 165. It points out how it was still necessary for students coming to Paris to conceal their purpose, to adopt assumed names, lest their relatives at home should be exposed to fines and penalties, and their own freedom of returning to Ireland endangered. It throws light, too, upon the colleges they frequented for lectures. From time immemorial, say the provisors, the priests, who are students in philosophy, attend lectures at the Collège des Grassins. The clerics for the past sixty years, they say, have attended the lectures at the College of Plessis. The provisors add that there was a debt of gratitude due by the clerics to the Plessis College. In former times the principal of that college entertained every day twelve Irish clerics at dinner. In more recent years the usage had been changed, and each day a certain quantity of bread was sent to the community of clerics by the principal of Plessis. We are not told which of the theological schools the students frequented. The re-

currence of Irish names amongst the professors of the College of Navarre would seem to point to it. But in many of the official documents the persons mentioned, either as provisors or as benefactors, are stated to be not only graduates of the faculty of Paris, but also of the house and faculty of the Sorbonne.

The rector of the university acceded to the petition of the provisors, and the Lombard College preserved its independent existence.

For some years longer the two communities lived together. Their numbers seem to have gone on increasing, so that their old quarters were no longer sufficient. The Rev. Laurence Kelly, the energetic prefect of the clerics, having obtained a royal permission, purchased a house and plot of ground in the Rue du Cheval Vert, now Rue des Irlandais, at a cost of 47,000 francs, and caused to be erected the buildings which form the actual Irish College. The clerics preserving their legal title of "Communitas Clericorum Hibernorum," from which they were sometimes known in Ireland as "Community Boys,"* entered their new home about 1769. Dr Kelly purchased also a villa and garden at Ivry, near Paris, which served as a country house for the students and a place of residence during the vacations. The old constitution of the Irish College remained unchanged. But henceforward until 1793 there were two Irish establishments, that for priests at the Lombard College, and the college for clerics in Rue du Cheval Vert. Dr Kelly had purchased the new properties in his own name. That there might be no question of proprietary rights, he made

* See Renehan, p. 108.

over the college and country house to the community by a *donatio inter vivos* in due form of law. The document whereby the donation was made has more than a legal interest. It throws a flood of light on the organization of the community of clerics at the time. In the earlier years of the eighteenth century it was made a subject of complaint that the number of priests produced by that community was small. The document to which reference has been made shows that in 1772 it was a fully organized ecclesiastical seminary. The full list of students who signed the document is given, with their ecclesiastical rank. It is signed by the Rev. Patrick Joseph Plunket, doctor in theology of the faculty of Paris and prefect of studies, and by sixty students. Of these, four are deacons, nine sub-deacons, ten acolytes, twenty are tonsured clerics, and seventeen are écoliers or students. This document is dated May 19, 1772.*

It is now time to look back on the period that has elapsed since the Irish Seminary was transferred to the Lombard College, and to consider what was the appreciation in which it was held, and what was the work it had accomplished during that period.

If we take a material test of the appreciation in which the Irish College was held during the eighteenth century, we find evidence of it in the numerous pious foundations that were made for its support. From the close of the seventeenth century up to 1788 about fifty-two foundations were made for the support of students, nine for the celebration of Masses, and seven by way of gifts for the general support of the college.

* See List in Appendix, no. 10.

In the seventeenth century the principal means of support was derived from French charity. During the eighteenth century French charity still continued, as we have seen in the case of the Abbé de Vaubrun and the principal of the College of Plessis. On the eve of the Revolution in 1787 a French lady of rank, the Countess d'Ahemar, sent to the Lombard College a supply of vestments for the service of the altar. The clergy of France voted a grant of 3,000 francs to the clerics, and Louis XVI gave them an annual allowance of 300 livres from his own purse and 80 livres from his royal alms. But the principal source of the foundations was Irish. The royal letters patent were not a gift, but a legal permission to acquire property. The old and the new colleges were built with Irish money. The founders of burses were Irish. Nine Irish bishops, thirty-two Irish priests, either in Ireland or resident in France, four medical doctors, a few officers and men of business and some pious ladies of Irish name and race, made foundations for the education of students.

Amongst the benefactors of this period there is one who, for his liberality, deserves to be ranked with l'Escalopier and Bailly and Vaubrun. This was Bartholomew Murry,* an Irishman, doctor and professor of medicine in the faculty of Paris. This good man purchased a house in Rue Judas, now Clos Bruneau, to provide increased accommodation for the clerics before they removed to their new residence, and at his death he bequeathed to them all his pro-

* Dr Murry, in his will, states that the Irish Murrys spell their name "Murry," and the Scotch write "Murray."

perty. "Omnem suam rem, haud mediocrem, communitati clericorum donavit." *

Nor were the Irish students unworthy of the generosity shown towards them. For a hundred years the two communities sent annually a large number of priests to the mission in Ireland; of these a considerable number was raised to the episcopate. Between 1700 and 1800 more than twenty-five students of the college were appointed bishops in Ireland.

Other students, with the sanction of their bishops, obtained preferments in France, or acted as chaplains to the Irish Brigade; others found employment in governing the various Irish seminaries in France; others held posts of honour as professors in the university. In 1729 the Rev. James Wogan was professor of philosophy in the College of Navarre. Later in the century the Rev. James McDonough was professor of philosophy in the College of Plessis; the Rev. John Plunket was royal professor of theology in the Navarre College; and later still, the Rev. Patrick Joseph Plunket, sometime provisor of the Lombard College, held the same honourable post. This eminent man was appointed bishop of Meath, and received episcopal consecration in Paris in 1787. Queen Marie-Antoinette sent him on the occasion an episcopal ring, which to-day is one of the most valued jewels of the bishop of Meath. He too, like another Irish College student in the previous century, had an adventurous voyage on his homeward journey. The vessel in which he sailed was captured by the famous Paul Jones; his luggage, with his books and vestments, was

* Mural inscription in the Lombard College.

seized, but afterwards, through the good offices of Dr Franklin, American envoy at Paris, restored to him.* Later still, Dr Flood, one of the superiors of the Lombard College, was also Royal professor of theology in the College of Navarre.

In the university, too, the Irish priests continued to hold an honourable place. In the register of the German nation (no. 30) we find between the years 1660 and 1698 the names of more than thirty Irishmen as procurators, and in register no. 40—from 1698 to 1730—again about thirty Irish names of procurators occur. At an official meeting of the nation in 1684 the names of all present are given.† Of twenty masters present the names of eighteen are Irish; of these at least five belonged, as we learn from official documents, to the Lombard College. The Rev. Cornelius Nary, one of the provisors of the college, was twice procurator; the Rev. John Farely and the Rev. James Merrick, both Irish provisors, were each four times elected procurator of the German nation.

Nor was literary excellence wanting in the Paris students of this period. Educated in the seventeenth century, Dr Michael Moore attained his greatest celebrity in the early years of the eighteenth. That celebrated Irishman was born in the diocese of Dublin about 1640. He com-

* The following tribute to Irish nuns in France, taken from a letter of Dr Plunket written in 1770 (Cogan, Vol. III, p. 4) is not without interest: "She (Madame Louise) has trampled under foot all the glittering splendour of court life, and is become a poor Carmelite nun at St Denis. The superior of the convent, the mistress of the novices, in a word the whole *état major*, are Irish women, and such as do honour to Ireland by their virtue, understanding and prudence."

† See Document no. 8.

menced his studies at Nantes, and completed them in Paris. He professed rhetoric at the College of Grassins and philosophy at Navarre, and also held for some time a chair of natural philosophy. In 1671, 1674 and 1676 he was elected procurator of the Nation d'Allemagne. In 1677 he was chosen rector of the university, but declined that honour. In 1684 we find him still in Paris as procurator of his nation. Soon after he was summoned to Dublin by the vice-roy, Richard Talbot, and made provost of Trinity College. Having given offence, it is stated, to James II by a sermon he preached in the Royal presence, he quitted Dublin and returned to France.* After a short stay in Paris he went to Italy, where he became rector of the college of Montefiascone, and was held in high esteem by the College of Cardinals and by popes Innocent XII and Clement XI. Returning to Paris he was elected rector of the university, and held that office from October 10, 1701, to October 9, 1702. The record of his election is particularly complimentary: "Eodem die 10 Octobris, 1701, eodemque in loco habita sunt comitia rectoria. Elegerunt sapientissimum, piissimum virum, magist. Michm. Morum, constantissimæ nationis decanum, rectorem. Electio hujusmodi plausu, summaque lætitia ab omnibus confirmata est." After his term of office he was appointed to the chair of philosophy at the Navarre College, from which Dupin had just been expelled. In this post he maintained the scholastic method, in opposition to that of Descartes. Finally, he became principal of the college of Navarre. In his old age he continued

* Brennan, *Ecc. Hist. of Ireland.*

to discharge his duties as dean of the German nation with the greatest assiduity; nor did he forget his countrymen who were students at the Lombard College. He died in 1726; and at his express desire he was interred in the chapel of the Irish College. M. Delaval, rector of the university, pronounced the eulogium of Moore in an elegant Latin oration, which is still preserved in the register of the German nation, and from which the above account is chiefly taken.* His works are, a treatise "De Existentia Dei et Animæ Humanæ Immortalitate," published in Paris in 1692; a treatise entitled "Hortatio ad Studium Linguæ Græcæ et Hebraicæ"; and a treatise entitled "Vera sciendi Methodus" (Paris, 1716) in which he combats the Cartesian method. Dr Moore has not been forgotten; his name is still to be seen on a tablet in the Church of St Etienne du Mont, in the list of distinguished men interred within the limits of the parish.

Almost contemporary with Moore was another distinguished Dublin priest, Dr Cornelius Nary. Dr Nary took his degree in Paris, became procurator of the German nation in 1791 and provisor of the Irish College in 1793. In the same year he was appointed bishop of Kildare, but never took possession of his see. He became parish priest of St Michan's in Dublin. He was the author of several works of piety and controversy, and published an English translation of the New Testament. †

In 1741 the Rev Andrew Donlevy, prefect of

* Brennan, Vol. II, p. 340; *Regist.* no. 40.
† Brennan, ibid. Dict. Biograph.

the clerics, published an unpretentious but useful work, namely, "A Catechism of Christian Doctrine," in English and Irish, which was of great utility in the instruction of the young.

Soon after another pupil of the college, Dr James O'Gallagher, bishop of Raphoe, and later still of Kildare, published a volume of sermons in Irish, which are clear and solid, and have been presented to English readers in a translation by the Rev. Ulick Bourke in 1877.

A little later in the century another student of the college, the Rev. James MaGeoghegan, published in Paris, and in French, a "History of Ireland" in three volumes (Paris, 1758). This learned work, which was dedicated to the Irish Brigade serving in France, is divided into three parts; the first treats of Pagan Ireland, the second of Christian Ireland and the third of Ireland from the English invasion to the reign of James II. The work is highly esteemed by critics. Of the details of the life of the Abbé MaGeoghegan little is known beyond the fact that he was born in 1702, studied in Paris, wrote a history of Ireland, and was attached to the church of St-Merri at the time of his death in 1764. The dates and name seem to indicate that he is the same person as the James Geoghegan who was elected provisor of the Lombard College in 1734. In that case it is possible to add a few details concerning him. The certificates he presented at the time of his election are signed by the curé, and by the chapter of the collegiate church at Poissy in the diocese of Chartres. These certificates state that the Rev. James Geoghegan, a priest of the diocese of Meath, had for five years performed the duties of vicar in the parish of

Poissy, attending in choir, hearing confessions and administering sacraments in a laudable and edifying manner.

After his election as provisor he was obliged to withdraw from the college, as the validity of the election was disputed. He obtained the post of chaplain at the Hôtel Dieu in Paris, and in 1736 the archbishop of Tuam addresses him in a letter as almoner of Madame de Bignon, a French lady of rank.

Another Irish theologian, though we have no proof that he was a student of the Irish College, was so celebrated in Paris in the eighteenth century that we may be excused for mentioning him. Lucius Joseph Hooke was born in Dublin in 1716. He studied in Paris, received the Licentiate while a student at the seminary of St Nicholas of Chardonnet, and afterwards the degree of doctor at the Sorbonne, where he subsequently became professor of theology. While holding this position he accepted the thesis of the famous Abbé Prades, and presided at its defence. When the nature of the thesis, which was an attack on revelation, was perceived, Hooke, together with the syndic and master of studies, were publicly reprehended for having permitted the Abbé Prades to defend it. Hooke declared his regret, and stated that he had signed the thesis without having read it. Notwithstanding, he was deprived of his chair, and dismissed from the Sorbonne by order of the provisor, Cardinal Tencin. This measure was considered necessary on account of the scandal which the defence of so dangerous a thesis had given.

In 1752 Hooke petitioned to be reinstated in

his chair, but without success. In 1754 he was elected by a majority of one to a vacant chair of theology. The archbishop of Paris, Mgr de Beaumont, refused to install him; the faculty of the Sorbonne took his defence, and he was installed. Mgr de Beaumont replied by forbidding the students in seminaries to attend Hooke's lectures. Hooke protested that the only charge that could be brought against him was that of negligence in not reading the thesis of Prades before signing it, and that he had apologized for this. The dispute lasted until 1764, when Hooke accepted the chair of Hebrew and resigned that of theology.

In 1769 he was appointed conservator of the Mazarin library. In 1791 he refused to take the constitutional oath, and was dismissed from his post. He retired to St Cloud, where he died in 1796. He published in Paris in 1754 a work in three volumes, entitled "Religionis Naturalis et Revelatæ Principia." † The faculty of the Sorbonne held him in the highest esteem, and confided to him the examination of questions of doctrine submitted to it. By his withdrawal of the approval given to the thesis of Prades, and by his refusal of the constitutional oath, he showed that he was an obedient son of the Church. All that he can be reproached with is an act of negligence. By his talents he raised himself to the foremost rank of the doctors of the Sorbonne, and his history is another instance of what Irish talent can accomplish.*

But to return to the Irish College and its pupils. The instances we have cited show that

* Feller, Art. Hooke.
† Migne, *Cursus Completus,* vols. II. and III.

in the eighteenth as in the seventeenth century it took a noble part in training learned and holy priests.

And we have testimony even from those outside the Church as to its worth.

In a letter to a peer, dated February 21, 1782, Edmund Burke writes thus of the Paris Irish College: "When I was in Paris, about seven years ago, I looked at everything, and lived with every kind of people, as well as my time admitted. I saw there the Irish College of the Lombard, which seemed to me a very good place of education, under excellent orders and regulations, and under the government of a very prudent man, the late Dr Kelly. This college was possessed of an annual fixed income of more than a £1,000 a year, the greatest part of which had arisen from the legacies and benefactions of persons educated in that college, and who had obtained promotions in France, out of the emoluments of which promotions they made this grateful return."

Another testimony is no less laudatory. Mr Lecky, in his "History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," speaks of the Irish clergy of the period, and of the effect of continental education upon them. He writes as follows: "No subsequent generations of Irish priests have left so good a reputation as the better class of those who were educated in the seminaries of France, Italy and Flanders, and the Irish College at Salamanca. They grew up at a time when Catholicism throughout Europe was unusually temperate, and they brought with them a foreign culture and a foreign grace which did much to embellish Irish life. Their earlier prejudices were

corrected and mitigated by foreign travel. They had sometimes mixed with a society far more cultivated than an Irish Protestant country clergyman was likely to meet, and they came to their ministry at a mature age, and with a real and varied knowledge of the world. If they produced little or nothing of lasting value in theology or literature they had at least the manners and feelings of cultivated gentlemen, and a high sense of clerical decorum."

A writer quoted by the same historian speaks of the Irish priests of the eighteenth century as "mild, amiable, cultivated, learned, polite; uniting the meek spirit of the Christian pastor to the winning gentleness of the man of the world." *

The Irish clergy educated in Paris may justly be allowed a share in the praise thus awarded to those who were educated on the continent. The Irish colleges in Paris had by far the largest number of students of any of the foreign colleges. Those receiving education in all the Irish seminaries in France at the outbreak of the Revolution numbered 348. Of these the Paris students numbered 180. All Irish students receiving education on the continent, in Italy, Spain, Flanders and France numbered 478; one half, therefore, of the Irish priests educated in France, and one third of all the Irish priests educated on the continent in the eighteenth century were students of the Irish College in Paris. Moreover, Paris was the very centre of all that was most polished in continental life.

Indeed, one who knew the Paris students

* Lecky, *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. III, p. 354-355.

well at the end of the eighteenth century, Dr Plunket, afterwards Bishop of Meath, bears testimony to the reputation they enjoyed in Ireland. "I am told," he writes, "those of this house are called the Jesuits of the secular clergy." * The compliment was a delicate and expressive one.

These instances and these testimonies show what a debt of gratitude Ireland owes to the Irish College in Paris for its services throughout the eighteenth century.

* Cogan *Diocese of Meath*, III, 6.

CHAPTER III

From the Eve of the Great Revolution to 1824

THE years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Revolution were trying ones for the two Irish colleges in Paris. The number of priests in the Lombard College, as we learn from a statement of the provisors in 1787, was one hundred. The clerics too seem to have increased in number. Their superior Dr Kearney states that during his time the average number was eighty.

Though the Lombard College possessed a large number of burses, the number of students to be supported far exceeded the number of endowments. "The means of subsistence," wrote Dr Plunket to a friend in 1775, "are become more and more difficult by the prodigious increase of the value of all commodities." As the Revolution approached, offerings for Masses also decreased.*

It was inevitable, therefore, that the college should contract debts; and we find proof of this in an appeal made by the provisors to the charitable public in 1787, in which they state that their debts amounted to 30,000 francs. What response the appeal met with we are not informed. In the following year the archbishop of Paris in anxiety for the welfare of the establishment consulted the bishops of Ireland concerning the interests of of the college. A royal decree was obtained

* Letter of Dr Walsh. Cogan, III, 147.

authorizing the abolition of the system of government by provisors, and the Rev. John Baptist Walsh of the diocese of Killaloe, and formerly superior of the Irish College at Nantes, was appointed superior of the Lombard College.

This appointment, as we shall see, proved to be a fortunate one for the Irish College in Paris.

In the junior college difficulties had also to be encountered. In 1777 Dr Kelly died, and was interred in the vaults beneath the chapel of the college. His successor, Dr Cahill, was old and infirm, and he died after a short tenure of office in 1779. Dr Marky succeeded to the office of rector. The letters addressed to Dr Plunket, bishop of Meath, by the superiors of the Irish College at this time give some details regarding the establishment which, however unimportant in themselves, are not without a certain interest. In a letter to the bishop dated August 21, 1780, Dr Marky writes: "Abbé Flood sets off in a few days for Cambray, where he is to spend the remaining part of the vacation with Canon Kennedy. The President, Aherne, and Reilly from Brussels are to be of the party. Canon Butler of Lille has promised to pay me a visit at Ivry. Abbé Collins of Trente-trois, prayed me to present you his sincerest respects. . . . Have you learned that M. Chevreuil is made Canon of Notre Dame, Official, Grand Vicar and Chancellor of Paris? He is a fast friend of ours. M. Asseline is also Grand Vicar, and is no less attached to us than the former." While these details speak of relations of the college with the outside world, they show that Irish priests occupied ecclesiastical positions in various parts of France. Another letter gives details which

reveal something of the domestic economy of the establishment before the Revolution.

Writing on October 5 of the same year to Dr Plunket, Dr Marky says:

"I have got a noble chair made in the refectory and jalousies for all the windows on the garden side. Since our return from vacation, I discarded all the pewter platters, pots, chopines and salt-cellars; substituting in their room white earthen pots for water; pint bottles for wine, crystal for salt-cellars and no platters at all. This reformation adds exceedingly to the public decency and cleanliness of the refectory. Abbé Right has made the house a present of a fine stove, which was the only thing wanting to make the refectory comfortable or rather tenable in winter. The clergy of France in their late assembly have served us well; and indeed, far beyond my expectations, I got 3,000 francs."

In 1783 Dr Marky died, and Dr Charles Kearney was appointed rector. Dr Kearney had a short time before been appointed Vicar General of the diocese of Tarbes. He resigned that post when appointed rector of the Irish College. And in a letter to Dr Plunket* he records the feelings with which he entered on his new office. "If I be happy enough to succeed in doing good here, I shall congratulate myself on having made a sacrifice which put me in the way of serving my country." We shall see that the office he accepted proved to be a source of many trials. His first difficulty was a financial one. A large claim was made on the college by the collector of the public taxes. Dr Kelly, after purchasing the new property, had paid about

* May 29, 1783.

11,000 francs as mortmain tax, to which he was not legally bound. The college claimed that this sum should be refunded. The claim was rejected because it had not been made within the statutory term of two years from the date of payment. Moreover, the government now demanded the payment of 50,000 francs as mortmain on the new college, which was valued at 300,000 francs. They claimed in addition 100,000 francs by way of fine, because the plans of the building had not been submitted for approval. In 1783 the college presented a statement claiming exemption from the payment of the "droit d'amortissement" and of the fine, on the ground that the law did not apply to seminaries. We have not been able to discover what was the result. Besides the claim for taxes the high price of provisions also created difficulties. In 1788 Dr Kearney wrote to Dr Plunket, bishop of Meath: "Our revenues are not increasing, and the number of non-paying has been very considerable, and the consequence is that we have contracted debts." * In these circumstances the position of the superiors of the college was an anxious one.

At this time each of the Irish Colleges in Paris had to deplore the unhappy fate of a former student. The name of one was Thomas Lewis O'Beirne.† He left the junior college in 1768 in delicate health before the completion of his studies. About 1783 he became a pervert to the Protestant Church, married the daughter of a nobleman, and eventually became Protestant bishop of Meath. The other was the Rev. James

* Cogan, *History of Diocese of Meath,* III, 126.
† Ibid., Vol. III, p. 2.

O'Coigly. He came to Paris in 1785 to claim a burse in the Lombard College which was already in the possession of another student. His claim not being allowed, he left the college and went back to Ireland in 1789. Nine years later he was on his journey to France in company with certain members of the Society of United Irishmen. He and his companions were arrested at Margate and lodged in Maidstone gaol. They were tried for treason. Some papers of a treasonable character were found on O'Coigly's person. It was believed that the papers had been given to him without his being aware of their contents. The other prisoners were acquitted. Father O'Coigly was sentenced to death, and executed. Lord Holland speaks of him thus: "O'Coigly was condemned on false and contradictory evidence," and he adds that the Lord Chancellor, Thurlow, assured him that he said to Judge Buller who tried the case: "If ever there was a poor man murdered it was O'Coigly." *

Meanwhile the storm that had been gathering had burst upon France, carrying destruction in its course. It was a wise counsel of the prophet when he wrote to the captives of Babylon, saying: "Seek the peace of the city to which I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray to the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof shall be your peace." † The evils which fell on France involved the Irish Colleges in that country in the general ruin.

In 1790 the National Assembly decreed the

* See *History of Down and Connor*, by the Rev. James O'Laverty, Vol. II, p. 72.

† Jeremias xxix, 7.

confiscation to the profit of the state of all ecclesiastical property. By this decree the Church in France was in a moment robbed of the property with which centuries of piety had endowed her. The government was proceeding to apply the decree to the Irish Colleges also on account of their ecclesiastical character. Dr Walsh, the vigilant superior of the Lombard College, together with Dr Kearney and the superiors of the English and Scotch colleges, presented a petition to the National Assembly, showing that the colleges were the property of British subjects, and, therefore, quite distinct from French ecclesiastical property; and praying for an exemption from the operation of the decree. The English ambassador at Paris, Earl Gower, gave the petition the weight of his support. The question was discussed in the National Assembly, and it was declared by that Assembly that there was nothing in the law of France to hinder foreigners from continuing to possess the property they had acquired with their own money. This decree was duly published in the "Moniteur."* Through the vigilance of Dr Walsh and the good offices of Earl Gower the Irish and British colleges were saved for a time.

Moreover, the priests resident in those colleges, not possessing benefices in France, were not obliged to submit to the ordeal of refusing or taking the constitutional oath. The great majority of the clergy of France courageously refused that oath, and were expelled from their churches. Mass could not be celebrated publicly except by a constitutional priest. Priests could no longer appear in ecclesiastical costume. Many were

* *Moniteur,* October 29, 1790.

obliged to fly the country. In this state of things the chapel of the Lombard College became a place of refuge for the pious laity who would not assist at the Mass of an intruded priest. Thither they came to hear Mass and receive the sacraments. At length this conduct gave rise to an outburst of revolutionary fury. On September 23, 1791, a drunken mob attacked the chapel of the Lombard College. One woman was dragged from a confessional; another, who was leaving the church, was seized and savagely beaten with scourges. While this disturbance was in progress, the commissary of the police arrived with a body of the National Guard, and harangued the mob, and promised them satisfaction. Then, sending for Dr Walsh, he called on him to have the church cleared, though Mass was not finished. Dr Walsh replied that the college and church were protected by law and by treaties. The commissary answered that he acknowledged no such laws and treaties. The officer in charge of the National Guard summoned the people to leave the church and follow him to St-Etienne du Mont, where a constitutional priest was officiating, and threatened in case of refusal to deliver them up to the fury of the mob.

Dr Walsh addressed a protest to the municipal government, which was published in the press of the day. The outrage provoked an outburst of indignation throughout Paris. An address of protest was presented to the king. In the Assembly itself the attack on the chapel of the Irish College was loudly condemned.*

* Taine, *Révolution Française,* vol. II, chap. v, p. 117. Paris, 1881.

From the interesting letters of the internuncio at Paris, the Abbé de Salamon, addressed to Cardinal Zelada at Rome, we learn how admirable was the conduct of Dr Walsh on this occasion, and how the support of the British ambassador enabled him to do good service to the cause of religion at that perilous time. Writing to Cardinal Zelada on October 31, 1791, the Abbé de Salamon says: "I had occasion to see the superior of the Irish College called of the Lombards. He conducted himself with the greatest firmness on the occasion of the scandal which took place at his church on September 23. It is to him that is due in a great measure the withdrawal of the clause which stipulated that the churches should be allowed to be opened under the *surveillance of the curés*.* This superior loudly protested before the Department against that clause, and threatened them with the ambassador of England, who had given a strong promise that he would come forward if the protest were not listened to. Montmorin made them afraid of the cannon of England, and the Department withdrew the clause for every one. For the rest this superior appears to me to be a very worthy man."

After this event the Lombard College remained for some time unmolested. It became a place of refuge for many French ecclesiastics who were hidden away in Paris. From the same interesting correspondence we learn that during the years 1791-1792 six ecclesiastical retreats took place at the Irish College.

Writing on February 27, 1792, to Cardinal Zelada, the Abbé de Salamon speaks as follows:

* No doubt curés who had taken the constitutional oath.

"Here, Monsignore, is a second letter for His Holiness from the priests who have lately made the fourth retreat at the Irish College. The Pope is too much occupied to reply to all the letters; Your Eminence may merely refer to it in yours. The clergy of the second order are conducting themselves in a truly heroic manner in the midst of the dangers which surround us. The priests this Lent are making perpetual adoration, relieving each other in groups of six. The Abbé Walsh is the soul of these good works."

On March 21 Cardinal Zelada replied: "The Holy Father has read with infinite tenderness the last letter of the worthy ecclesiastics who have made the fourth retreat at the Irish College. I beg of you to be good enough to convey to them the truly paternal sentiments of the Pope in their regard. Above all, say to the Abbé Walsh how much his zeal and edifying piety are appreciated."*

In the letter of the French priests to His Holiness they state that during the retreat they had renewed their clerical promises in the presence of the Bishop of Clermont, and had pledged themselves to unwavering fidelity to the Holy See. They express also their profound gratitude for the kindness and hospitality they experienced at the Irish College.†

Two other retreats followed. One of Dr Walsh's colleagues, the Rev. Mr O'Brien, who held the office of chaplain to Monsieur, brother of the king, protested against the continuance of

* *Correspondance secrète de l'Abbé de Salamon*, par le Vte de Richemont, pp. 120-319. Paris, Plon, 1898.

† Unpublished document from Vatican Archives, kindly communicated by M. le Vte de Richemont. Referred to ibid., p. 509.

the retreats as being a source of danger. Dr Walsh, however, with the approval of the vicars general of Paris and the support of the internuncio, continued the good work.*

Writing again on March 26, 1792, the Abbé Salamon says: "The churches of religious and of nuns are well attended. We will get through the Paschal time without any action against us. When I desire to be edified, I go to the Irish College." †

Thus the Lombard College continued to be a place of refuge for the French clergy until the fearful days of La Terreur.

It is time now to see how it fared with the sister Irish College in Rue du Cheval Vert. Here we have but few details to guide us. In all probability most of the students had made their escape to Ireland when danger approached. Some, however, seem to have remained for a longer time. It is stated that on St Nicholas' day, 1790, the students of the college were playing football on the Champ de Mars, and that in the heat of the game one of them struck against the altar of Freedom and upset the statue of Liberty placed upon it. The soldier on guard arrested the maladroit player. The other students flew to rescue their companion. Crowds began to gather, and the students were in imminent danger. Fortunately for them Lafayette was passing with a body of horse. Seeing the commotion, he halted and inquired the cause. By his direction six students were arrested and imprisoned for a fortnight. So ended an incident which might have cost them their lives. It is also stated that on another

* Ibid., p. 473. † Ibid., p. 362.

occasion the mob attempted to force their way into the college. A student, named M'Canna (more probably McKenna), kept them at bay, holding a pistol in hand and threatening to shoot the first man who dared to enter. Then he addressed the crowd, and said that the Irish had come to France relying on French hospitality; that the Irish were the friends of France. The crowd listened, and at last withdrew, saying, "C'est un grand bon diable." *

Two incidents which are well authenticated have come down to us. While public worship was proscribed, an historic ordination took place in the library of the Irish College. On March 4, 1792, Mgr de Bonald, Bishop of Clermont, conferred the order of priesthood on several young men in great secrecy in the library of the college. One of those young priests was Peter de Coudrin, the future founder of the Order of the Sacred Hearts, called of Picpus, an order which has done much for the glory of God and given a Father Damien to the Church. Father de Coudrin did not forget that it was under the roof of an Irish establishment he received ordination. In aftertimes he opened a seminary in Paris, and in the early years of the nineteenth century many Irish students made their studies under his fatherly care in the Picpus College. From him the tradition of the ordination has come down, and in the year 1900 the superior general of the order of Picpus erected a tablet in the library of the Irish College to commemorate the ordination of the founder of their society.

Another event of a less agreeable nature took

* *Dublin Review*, April, 1890, p. 377; also *Memoirs of Miles Byrne*, vol. II; *Irish Abroad and at Home*, by O'Reilly, chap. xlviii.

place in the October of the same year. From the register of the deliberations of the *Conseil général* of the Seine we learn that on October 29, 1792, two deputies from the *Conseil général* proceeded to the Irish College, Rue du Cheval Vert, and called on the students to elect a superior. "They assembled the bursars in the chapel," says the register, "read an extract from the statutes of the College, and made the students swear to elect the most worthy person. There were nine voters present—Murry, Duckett, McSheehi, senior, McSheehi, junior, Curtayne, Blackwell, J. O'Neil, Ferris and McMahon. At the first scrutiny Duckett had five votes, and was declared elected provisor. At a second scrutiny to elect a temporal administrator the citizen, Nicholas Madgett, an Irish priest, formerly curé and prefect of studies in an Irish house in the provinces, was elected."*

We learn from contemporary history that similar scenes took place in convents where the nuns were obliged to go through the form of electing a superioress.†

Meanwhile the revolutionary tempest was increasing in violence. At last the king, Louis XVI, was sentenced to die. On January 23, 1793, the unfortunate monarch was led to execution. The Abbé Edgeworth, an Irish priest, was permitted to administer to him the last consolations of religion and to accompany him to the place of execution. The Abbé Edgeworth was a friend of Dr Kearney, superior of the Irish College, and the two friends had

* Taken from a pamphlet published by Dr Walsh in 1814, entitled *Mémoire pour Walsh, Ex-administrateur.*

† Correspondance de l' Abbé de Salamon, p. 473.

an understanding that both should try to be present at the place of execution.

Mr O'Reilly, who was a personal acquaintance of Dr Kearney, in his work, "The Irish Abroad and at Home," states that on the day of the execution he went to the Place de la Revolution—now Place de la Concorde—and witnessed the awful tragedy, and that after incurring great risk of being recognized as a priest he succeeded in making his escape from the spot after the king's death. What a spectacle! France had delivered up her lawful king to death, and two Irish priests risked their lives to console him in his hour of agony! *

Soon after this tragic event the Abbé Kearney was arrested, and imprisoned in the Scotch College for three years.

Another event full of disaster to the Irish colleges soon took place. The Convention declared war on England. A decree followed confiscating the property and ordering the arrest of British subjects resident in France. The two Irish colleges had hitherto escaped; now they were involved in the confiscation of the property of British subjects. On the 14th Pluviose of the

* Mr O'Reilly states that he questioned Dr Kearney in reference to the words attributed to Abbé Edgeworth. "Is it not true, Abbé," said I, "that the Abbé Edgeworth uttered, as the king was mounting the scaffold, those sublime words of encouragement, 'Fils de Saint Louis, montez au ciel.'" "No," he replied, "but while the king was struggling with the executioner and his men [he refers to the protest of the king against the cutting off of his hair], as I have just described, the Abbé Edgeworth recommended resignation to him, adding, and these words suggested possibly the phrase ascribed to him, 'You have only one sacrifice more to make in this life before you enjoy life eternal; submit to it.'"—O'Reilly, *Irish Abroad and at Home*, p. 224.

year II,* commissioners proceeded to the Irish College, Rue du Cheval Vert, to make an inventory of its property. All papers and registers relative to property were examined, an inventory of them was taken, and they were transferred to the archives of the Department. On the twenty-seventh of the same month a similar seizure was carried out at the Lombard College. The papers so seized were afterwards restored, but the registers containing the names of students previous to that date have been altogether lost.

From this period to 1800 it is difficult to trace the history of the two colleges. From an official report presented to the Minister of the Interior on the 30th Thermidor of the year X,† by a Bureau specially appointed by that minister, we learn that Dr Walsh was also thrown into prison. After some time he and Dr Kearney seem to have been allowed their liberty, and permission to exercise some degree of watchfulness over their respective colleges. We learn from the above-mentioned document that during Dr Walsh's imprisonment the caretaker of the Lombard College allowed the buildings to fall into decay, and that Dr Walsh, on recovering his liberty, let them to a tenant. The Bureau bears the most emphatic testimony to the firmness which Dr Walsh displayed in defending the rights of his house, as well as to the order in which his accounts were kept.

The same report states that Dr Kearney had been long in prison, that in the difficult circumstances in which he was placed it was impossible to keep accounts in due form, and that the liabilities of his house amounted to 50,000

* Feb., 1794. † July, 1802.

francs. It adds that he had let the college for a period of nine years to a teacher (un instituteur), and that an Irishman named MacDermot had spent nearly all his fortune on the college, and had large claims against it. Taking this official report into account there is good reason to believe that Mr O'Reilly in his work above-mentioned and Miles Byrne in his "Memoirs" are correct when they state that in the interval between 1794 and 1802 the Abbé MacDermot, an Irish ecclesiastic who was the teacher of a private boarding school, occupied the Irish College as tenant, and had a school there during those years for the sons of gentlemen. Amongst those who were pupils of the Abbé MacDermot in the Irish College was Charles Forbin Janson,* afterwards Bishop of Toul and Nancy and founder of the Society of the Holy Childhood. Amongst his pupils were also two whose names are historic, namely, Eugene Beauharnais and Jerome Bonaparte. Jerome left the college in 1800, and in 1801 was sent by the first Consul as second-lieutenant on a war vessel bound for St Domingo. He afterwards became King of Westphalia, but he did not forget his former teacher. After 1802 the Abbé MacDermot lived at 26 Rue des Postes; and one of the last letters he wrote was addressed to the King of Westphalia, claiming his protection for Dr MacMahon, to whom he desired to transfer his school.† A copy

* *Vie de Mgr Forbin Janson*, par R. P. Philpin de Rivière, de l'Oratoire de Londres, p. 8; Paris, 1891. *Memoirs of Miles Byrne*, vol. III, pp. 150, 156-159.

† SIRE,—L'état chancelant de ma santé et l'importance de mes devoirs m'obligent d'associer à mon Institution Académique, M. MacMahon, mon compatriote et mon ami; élève distingué de l'ancienne université, Docteur en Médicine de la

of the letter is among the papers of the Irish College, together with the reply sent by the king's secretary.

When order began to be restored, Dr Walsh set about gathering together the fragments of the Irish property which had escaped destruction. Capital invested in the public funds had been reduced by order of the Directory and consolidated at one-third of its former value. The buildings had suffered. The villa at Ivry had been alienated by the State; some house-property in Paris had also been alienated. Finding, however, that all was not lost, Dr Walsh applied to the Consular Government for permission to re-open the college. A committee, already alluded to, was appointed by the Minister of the Interior to report to him on the state of the Irish and the British establishments in France. The members of the committee made a careful examination of the state of the buildings, as well as of the funds of the Irish and

Faculté de Paris, attaché en cette qualité depuis plus de quinze ans, à mon établissement, et qui a le bonheur d'être connu de votre Majesté.

Daignez, Sire, lui accorder votre protection Royale, et lui continuer les bontés dont votre Majesté a bien voulu m'honorer, et dont je conserverai toute ma vie le precieux souvenir.

J'ose assurer votre Majesté, que M. MacMahon en est digne par son respectueux dévouement pour votre personne sacrée, et qu'il mettra tout son bonheur à se vouer tout entier aux soins et á la surveillance des jeunes élèves, vos sujets, que votre Majesté daignera lui confier.

Je suis avec respect,
Sire,
De votre Majesté,
Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

Paris, Rue des Postes.
Ce. 9bre, 1812.*

* The Abbé MacDermot died on November 21, 1812. Dr MacMahon afterwards became physician of the Irish College.

Scotch colleges. At the same time a deputy from the bishops of Ireland, named Flood,* came to Paris to request the French Government to unite to the Paris College all that remained of the other Irish Colleges in France. This request was favourably received. A report was presented to the Minister of the Interior stating that, of the British colleges in Paris, that in Rue du Cheval Vert was the only one suitable for the purposes of an educational establishment; that the Provincial Houses and the Scotch College could not continue to exist by themselves for want of resources. They, therefore, recommended the union of all the Irish foundations in France to the college in Paris and the amalgamation of the Irish and Scotch Colleges. They suggested that for some time the students might attend the school at Louis le Grand, which then, for a short time, bore the name of the Prytanée.

A decree of the First Consul ratified the scheme of the committee as to the union of all the Irish colleges, and declared that the Irish and Scotch colleges should form one establishment. A supplementary decree included also the English College. Dr Walsh was appointed Administrator General and Superior. A Bureau of superintendence was created to watch over the affairs of the college, subject to the authority of the Minister of the Interior. Besides authorizing the reopening of the college, the Consular decree had another important result. It empowered Dr Walsh, as Irish Administrator General, to gather together the remnants of the property of the other Irish Colleges throughout France.

* No doubt Dr Flood, formerly Provisor of the Lombard College.

From 1804 to 1814 the Irish, English and Scotch students lived together at the Irish College, forming a united kingdom under French rule. The pope, Pius VII, during his visit to Paris in 1804, sent his blessing to the new college. Dr Walsh was rector. He was assisted by Father Parker, an English Benedictine, and by Father McNulty, an Irish priest. A French priest, the Abbé Fontanel, had a select school in Rue des Postes for French boys. Dr Walsh entered into an arrangement with him. The Abbé Fontanel entered the Irish College, bringing with him his pupils, and took up the duties of Prefect of studies. Hence, besides the English-speaking pupils, there were also French boys. Amongst the pupils of Irish descent many afterwards became distinguished, such as Commandant Corbet, Colonel O'Shee, Baron de Shee, Count Walsh. Amongst the French pupils the most distinguished were the four brothers Rochefoucauld, one of whom in later times became the Duc de Rochefoucauld. There were but few ecclesiastical students in the college at this period. In 1810 about twenty priests, of whom sixteen were Irish and four or five Maltese, who had been taken prisoners by the French at Rome, were brought to Paris and placed at the Irish College, where they remained nearly two years. Some of them were regulars belonging to the Dominican, Franciscan and Augustinian orders. Their names appear on the college books as "Prêtres envoyés de Rome." About the same time one of the Irish Colleges, probably that of the Lombards, gave hospitality to a guest still more distinguished. In 1810 Napoleon compelled the College of Cardinals to come to Paris

during the captivity of Pius VII. We learn from the Memoirs of Cardinal Gonsalvi * that Cardinal di Pietro lodged with the Irish.

During this painful period Dr Walsh did everything in his power to attract students from Ireland. He feared, said Dr Keane, Bishop of Cloyne, in a letter written in 1862, that, if the burses were not utilized, the Irish foundations might find their way into the war-chest of the empire. However, there were persons in Paris who were not favourably disposed towards the zealous Irish administrator. In 1809 he was obliged to retire to the old Lombard College, and Father Parker was named provisional administrator. In 1813 the Rev. Richard Ferris, Doctor of Theology and of Laws, and Canon of Amiens, was appointed administrator. This appointment was not acceptable to the bishops of Ireland, and in 1814, at their request, Dr Paul Long was appointed superior and administrator. During the brief period of the Hundred Days Dr Ferris was once more reinstated. After the entry of the Allies into Paris, Dr Long was restored to office, and continued to govern the college until 1819. Before the Revolution Dr Long had been curé in the diocese of Laon, and had escaped to Ireland in 1792. He had been induced by the bishops of Ireland to return to France to take charge of the Irish College. He consented to accept the post for a year; and each year until 1818, as we learn from an official document, signed by Dr Troy and two other archbishops, he solicited permission to resign his office.

During his term of office Dr Long had many

* Vol. II, p. 168. Plon, Paris, 1866.

anxious duties to perform. First of all the English and Scotch sections had obtained permission from Louis XVIII to return to their own colleges. Dr Long delivered up to them the various articles of property which they had deposited at the Irish College during the period of union.

The separation of the colleges was carried out, and a new decree published appointing administrators. Dr Long was declared administrator-general of the Irish foundations in France, Dr. Farquharson of the Scotch and the Rev. John Bew of the English College in Paris. The colleges, however, remained subject to the superintendence of a Bureau as under the Empire and under the control of the Minister of the Interior. The French government claimed the right of nominating superiors, on the ground that the colleges had formerly been subject to French superiors major, such as the Abbot of St Victor's, in the case of the Irish, and the Prior of the Carthusians in the case of the Scotch. These offices having become extinct, it was maintained that the rights attached to them had devolved to the crown of France.

After the separation of the colleges another important duty devolved on Dr Long. In virtue of a treaty with England the French government agreed to indemnify British subjects resident in France for losses sustained during the revolutionary period. A commission composed of French and English representatives was appointed to receive and register claims. As administrator-general of the Irish foundations in France, Dr Long prepared a statement of losses sustained. He presented his statement

on March 22, 1816, and it was duly registered. Its details may be found interesting even after the lapse of nearly a century.

The villa at Ivry; seven houses in Paris; the colleges of Toulouse, Lille and Douai, with their furniture and the church of the college at Bordeaux had been alienated by the French government and were altogether lost. The college buildings at Nantes, Bordeaux and the old Lombard College still remained, but in a ruinous condition. The funded property had been reduced to one-third consolidated. The total loss was estimated at nearly two and a half millions of francs.

The statement of losses was as follows: *

SECTION I.—IMMOVABLE PROPERTY.	
Villa at Ivry	30,000
House, Rue Judas (now Clos Bruneau), Paris ...	25,000
Irish Seminary at Toulouse	25,000
Irish Seminary at Douai	60,000
Church of Irish College, Bordeaux (St Eutropius)	21,200
Irish Seminary at Lille	20,000
Plot of ground, Boulevard de la Madeleine ...	1,500
Six houses in Paris	33,000
Interest on the above sums at 4½ per cent. from 19 Vindémaire, year II, to March 22, 1816 ...	194,510
	410,210
SECTION II.—MOVABLE PROPERTY.	
Furniture of house at Ivry	1,319
,, Seminary at Toulouse	11,725
Interest at 3 per cent.	8,805.38
	432,059.38
SECTION III.—RENTES.	
Loss on 25 Inscriptions de Rente, reduced to one-third consolidated, from March 22, 1798, to March 22, 1816	1,144,360

* These details are taken from a report made by Dr Miley to the Minister of Public Instruction in 1857. See also *London Gazette*, January 31, 1826.

SECTION IV.

Dividends of Rentes not paid, though liquidated and certified by the Treasury	384,054
Dividends not paid and Rentes not liquidated though both certified by the Treasury ...	94,197
Dividends on Rentes not consolidated at one-third	361,540
Total of losses	2,416,210.38

The statement of claims having been lodged, Dr Long's next care was to restore to the college its exclusively ecclesiastical character. He accordingly arranged for the withdrawal of the French and other lay pupils. In a letter to a bishop in Ireland he states that he did not consider that an ecclesiastical tone and spirit would be developed by associating with young men who had in view a civil or military career. When the lay students had withdrawn, ecclesiastics began to come from Ireland in greater numbers, and in a short time the house resumed the character of a seminary. But another difficulty soon arose. Some influential persons in Paris were apprehensive lest a movement to transfer the Irish foundations to Ireland should, through the influence of the Duke of Wellington, succeed. This apprehension created troubles for the authorities at the Irish College. Moreover a report was made by some person to the Minister of the Interior that the British colleges in Paris were not sufficiently endowed to support a body of students and a staff of professors. In consequence a royal decree was made and published in the "Bulletin des Lois," ordering the Irish, English and Scotch colleges to be closed and their revenues to be applied to the education of students from those nations in colleges or seminaries throughout France. Dr Walsh, who was

living in retirement at the Lombard College, drew up a petition to Louis XVIII, in the name of the superiors of the three colleges, showing that their income was sufficient and that former kings of France had always shown themselves protectors of the British establishments. Louis XVIII acceded to the prayer of the petitioners, and the existence of the colleges was saved.

In 1819 Dr Long returned to Ireland, and the bishops of Ireland appointed the Rev. John Rogers, previously prefect of studies, to take his place until an administrator should be duly installed. On the retirement of Dr Long the Minister of the Interior reappointed Dr Ferris. His tenure of office was brief; he had a disagreement with M. Hely D'Oyssel, Minister of Instruction, and, having resigned his office, he soon after left Paris and withdrew to Soissons, where he died in 1828.

On the retirement of Dr Ferris Dr Kearney, formerly superior of the college, was reinstated. The ecclesiastical character of the college was now fully restored. Dr William O'Higgins, afterwards Bishop of Ardagh, was professor of theology. Philosophy was taught by Mr McCabe. There was a class of rhetoric. We learn from the evidence of Dr O'Higgins, before the royal commission at Maynooth in 1826, that the Irish College students at this period numbered nearly sixty; that they had their classes in the college, and no longer attended the university, as was the custom before the Revolution; that the studies were solid, and the discipline of the house most regular.*

In 1824 Dr Kearney died, and was interred in

* *Education Report,* 1827, appendix, no. 35, p. 265.

the chapel of the college. In the next year Dr Walsh died at the Lombard College. At his death he showed his love for the establishment he had served so well by making a foundation to give prizes of £10 a year to students in holy orders. We may say of him as was said of Nehemias: "Let him be a long time remembered who raised up for us our walls that were cast down . . . . and rebuilt our houses." *

The troubled period of the Revolution may now be regarded as closed. When it began there were two Irish colleges in Paris and five in the provinces; one only now survived. This was now reorganized, and entering on a era of renewed usefulness. During the revolutionary period the Irish establishments suffered much, but they had at least the consolation that by their services during that period they had made some return to France for the protection she had afforded them in happier times. In Ireland a new era had dawned. Ecclesiastical education was no longer under a ban. In 1795 the College of Maynooth was founded. In that work, so fruitful of good results for the Church in Ireland, the Irish College in Paris may claim a share. Dr Flood and Dr Byrne, both presidents of Maynooth College, Dr Power, vice-president, Dr Aherne, professor of theology, and several other members of the college staff in the earlier years of its existence were alumni of the Irish College in Paris.

* Eccles xlix, 15.

CHAPTER IV

From 1824 to 1900

THE painful period of the Revolution had closed, and a happier era was commencing. On the death of Dr Kearney, Dr Ryan, a priest of the diocese of Cashel, succeeded him as rector. At this time Dr Paterson, coadjutor of the vicar-apostolic of Edinburgh, visited Paris and obtained the appointment of an administrator with independent control of the Scotch property. The Irish bishops petitioned for similar authority for the superior of the Irish College. In consequence the Bureau of Surveillance, established by Napoleon I and continued by Louis XVIII, was dissolved. Dr Ryan was therefore appointed administrator as well as superior. When he resigned office in 1827 Dr McGrath, a priest of the diocese of Ossory, was appointed superior. After a very brief tenure of office he also resigned, and the Rev. Patrick McSweeny, D.D., a priest of the diocese of Cork, was appointed rector and administrator. Dr McSweeny had been professor of theology in Carlow College from 1819 to 1825. He is said to have been an able controversialist both in public discussion and in writing. In 1825 he resigned his professorship in Carlow, and soon after became prefect of studies in Paris.*

* *Life of Dr Doyle,* by Fitz-Patrick. Vol. I, pp. 9, 432; vol. II, p. 87.

Having succeeded Dr McGrath in 1828 as superior and administrator, Dr McSweeny entered on his duties with great earnestness. The rules of the college dealing with the duties of the students as well as of the superiors, and declaring that the superior of the college should always be an Irish priest, were sanctioned by the four archbishops of Ireland, and officially ratified in France by the minister of the Interior, M. de Martignac, on November 29, 1828.

The state of the endowments of the college was also examined; a new list of them was drawn up, and similarly ratified. There still remained another question to which the rector directed his attention, namely, the claim for an indemnity for losses sustained during the French Revolution, which had been duly presented in 1816.

The work of examining and adjudicating on such claims was a tedious one. In 1818 the French government placed at the disposal of England a sum producing an annual interest of three million francs, leaving to that power the duty of examining and adjudicating on the claims of her own subjects. In 1824 the claim of the English College at Douai came before the commission appointed for the purpose, and was rejected. The constitution of the commission permitted an appeal from its award to the privy council. The superiors of the Douai College availed themselves of this right. Their appeal was heard, and on November 25, 1825, Lord Gifford, master of the rolls, gave judgement, confirming the award of the commission.

"The institutions," he said, "on behalf of which the claims were made, although their

members were British subjects, and their property derived from funds contributed by British subjects, were in the nature of French corporations. They were locally established in a foreign territory because they could not exist in England. Their end and object were not authorized by and were directly opposed to British law, and the funds dedicated to their maintenance were employed for that purpose in France because they could not be so employed in England. We think, therefore, that they must be deemed French establishments, and looking at the occasion and object of those treaties, we think it was not, and could not have been in the contemplation of the contracting parties that the British government should demand, or the French government grant, compensation for property held in trust for establishments in France and for purposes inconsistent with British laws."

This decision was held by the commissioners to apply to the colleges in Paris; accordingly it was notified by the following letter to Dr Long, by whom the claims of the Irish College had been presented:

Convention no. 7.

London, Dec. 2, 1825.

SIR,—The commissioners desire me to recall to your recollection the notice published by them in the *Gazette* of Jan. 20, 1824, viz., "The claimants for the English Catholic colleges have declared their intention of appealing to His Majesty in Council against the award of rejection made in their cases, and the commissioners have accordingly resolved that if on such an appeal the award of the board shall be affirmed they will proceed forthwith in application of the principle on

which that award is founded to the rejection of the claims of the other Catholic establishments."

I am now to inform you that on Friday, the 25th ultimo, His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council affirmed the award of rejection, so made by the commissioners on the express ground that such establishments were to be considered French, and as not coming within the spirit and meaning of the convention. In conformity to this principle I have to notify to you that the commissioners have rejected the claims of the English, Scotch and Irish colleges, established at Paris, presented by you as agent to the said establishments.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) C. B. BALDWIN.

The Rev. Paul Long,
Ex-superior of the Irish College at Paris.*

Though this decision seemed to set the question at rest for ever, Dr M'Sweeny resolved to raise it a second time. He thought, however, that his only hope lay in an appeal to the French government. That government, he argued, might justly say to England: We have paid you money to indemnify the Irish colleges for losses sustained. You refuse to carry out the trust confided to you; give us back the money, and we will satisfy those claims. He therefore addressed himself to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, but that minister replied that France had done her duty by paying to England the means of satisfying the claims of her sub-

* By this decision not only was the claim of the colleges rejected but twelve convents of English-speaking nuns (ten English and two Irish) were refused compensation. One of these convents still survives, and is doing excellent work at Neuilly near Paris. The loss sustained by the communities of nuns was estimated at 4,422,839 francs.

jects, and that it belonged to her to examine and adjudicate upon such claims.

Dr M'Sweeny, as a last resource, resolved to petition for leave to appeal to the Privy Council against the award notified in December, 1825. He employed two lawyers of ability—Mr William Witham, of Gray's Inn, and Mr Michael J. Quin, also of London—to conduct the case. A favourable result was anticipated.

In a letter to Dr Long, making inquiry concerning the statement of claims made by him in 1816, Mr Witham writes on March 15, 1830: "I had a long conference with Mr O'Connell yesterday on our chance of success, and he is decidedly of opinion that the law of Ireland was totally dissimilar to the law of England on the subject of these foundations, and provided we can get leave to bring this case by appeal before the Privy Council we have a very fair prospect of success."

The permission solicited was obtained. The case was heard, and judgment was given by Sir John Leach, master of the rolls, on behalf of the Privy Council in 1832. The judgment was as follows:

"Now we are bound of course by the judgment of the Doway case. Lord Gifford gives two reasons for that decision—one that the establishments were opposed to the laws of England. It is however questionable whether that reason ought to prevail in the case, there being, as it is argued, a difference in material respects between the law of England and the law of Ireland, and to that reason therefore we have not applied ourselves. The other reason is that they were French establishments, founded under the au-

thority and by the permission of the King of France, and that they therefore could not be considered within the meaning of the term 'British subjects.' Now it appears by the papers before us that the French government had at all times exercised a control of these establishments. We first find the control of the Convention; we next find the control of the Consulate; we next find the control of the Empire; and lastly we find the control of the Monarchy after the restoration in the edicts of Louis XVIII. This case comes therefore plainly within the reasons given by Lord Gifford for the prior decision. These colleges were French establishments, and that fact is conclusive. . . . We are therefore most clearly of opinion that we are precluded by the Doway case from any further consideration of the subject. The whole of this property belonged to the establishment, and the establishment must be considered a French establishment for the reasons given by Lord Gifford; and if these reasons had not been previously given we must necessarily have come to the same conclusion. It is quite unnecessary therefore to give any further trouble, for the case is too clear to admit of doubt."

This decision was duly notified to Dr M'Sweeny by his lawyers. Mr M. J. Quin wrote on February 27, 1832: "It is with infinite regret I have to inform you that our case was heard partly on Saturday last and decided this morning against us without even giving us the advantage of a full hearing. . . . It is with much pain I am the messenger of these evil tidings to you, but Mr O'Connell, who opened the case on Saturday

and whom I followed at considerable length, fully agrees with me that the decision is a most atrocious violation of justice. He will probably take an opportunity of mentioning it in Parliament, but I do not think you can entertain now any hope that anything will ever be done in your favour." Mr Witham also wrote: "Mr Quin having sent me over the accompanying letter to look at, I beg to add a line to say that his exertions in your cause were most strenuous, and that everything that lay in his power was done, and every argument that could be adduced in your favour was submitted by him to the court, so far as they allowed us to go into the claim. It was clear, however, that the court was prejudiced against the claim from the beginning, and I consider it a most unjust judgment, as the Irish College property (or at least the Bourses) were not *national French property*, at that time of 1793, as the court held them to be." * Further action was useless, and the question was allowed to remain dormant for forty years. In 1790 the Assemblée Nationale had exempted the Irish College from confiscation on the ground that it was the property of British subjects; in 1793 the Convention had confiscated it as the property of British subjects; in 1825 and in 1832 England refused to acknowledge what France had twice admitted.

Meanwhile the college continued its educational work. Many of the students of this period subsequently became distinguished. In 1824 William Keane, afterwards bishop of Cloyne, entered the college, and having finished his studies, remained as a professor. About the

* Copied from original letters.

same time Michael O'Hea, afterwards bishop of Ross, became a student. Edward Maginn, the eloquent and patriotic coadjutor of Derry, belongs to this time. In 1835 Bartholomew Fitz-Patrick, afterwards abbot of Mount Melleray, matriculated. In 1836 Laurence Gillooly, in later times bishop of Elphin, and in 1839 Thomas Croke, now archbishop of Cashel, entered the Irish College as students.

The number of students usually amounted to about a hundred. Many of them spent their vacation in France, and to render their sojourn more agreeable Dr McSweeny purchased a villa at Arcueil in 1834, at a cost of 45,000 francs. Here a large number of students used to spend their vacation even so late as 1870. From 1828 to 1850 the college was subject to the Archbishop of Paris in all that concerns the general laws of the Church. Its interior discipline was subject to the control of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, who framed its rules and appointed the professors with the approval of the French Government. The students attended lectures in the college halls.

One who had been a professor for over four years in the college at this period, the Right Rev. David Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry bore testimony before the royal commission of 1854 as to the education imparted at the Irish College, and as to the results produced by its discipline. "The system," he said, speaking of that followed at the Irish College, "begets a habit of politeness towards superiors, and at the same time engenders in the students a more manly bearing. I have observed the Irish character under that system in the Irish College, Paris, and I have

always observed that that system produced the most beneficial results." *

Nor must the staff of professors be forgotten. Dr Keane was professor and vice-president until 1839. He afterwards became Bishop of Cloyne and Secretary of the Episcopal Board for the affairs of the college. When he died in 1874, the rector of the college thus spoke of him in his report: "His Lordship was a most sincere and a devoted friend of this establishment, which he fondly called his 'Alma Mater,' and which on her part deplores him as one of her most cherished and fondly venerated alumni."

Rev. David Moriarty, afterwards bishop of Kerry, was professor and vice-president for over four years. In after years he too became secretary for the affairs of the college, and proved himself its devoted friend. The Rev. Matthew Kelly, of the diocese of Ossory, was also a distinguished member of the professorial staff. The learned prelate, Mgr Gargan, who now governs the National College at Maynooth was professor of philosophy from 1843 to 1845. Rev. Laurence Gillic of the diocese of Meath was professor of philosophy from 1849 to 1852.

Several of these able men afterwards became connected with Maynooth College either as professors or as members of the episcopal governing body. Their work and their talents have already been recorded by the eloquent and vigorous pen of the learned bishop of Clonfert in his centenary history of Maynooth College. Pleasing as would be the task to attempt their praise, it would be rash to undertake it after such a writer.

* Summarized from Maynooth Report, Parliamentary Papers, sess. 1854-1855, vol. XXII, p. 489.

Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari
. . . . Ceratis ope dædalea
Nititur pennis vitreo daturus
Nomina ponto.*

With such co-operators Dr McSweeny continued to govern the college till 1850. Under his government it had witnessed two revolutions, that of 1830 and that of 1848. In the latter year a band of Revolutionists erected barricades in the adjoining streets. They entered the college, and planted the tree of liberty in the court, but no injury was done to person or property.

For some years Dr McSweeny's health had been failing, and he resolved to seek in retirement the repose he had earned so well. To mark his appreciation of Dr McSweeny's long services the Minister of Public Instruction † conferred on him in 1847 the rank of Chevalier of the Legion of Honour; and on his retirement he granted him a pension of 5,000 francs a year.

Dr McSweeny spent the remaining years of his life partly in Paris and partly in Ireland, where he died in 1865. At his death he bequeathed to the college he had served so long a legacy of 10,000 francs.

About the time of Dr McSweeny's retirement it was judged expedient to rearrange and increase the number of free burses. To carry out this project a committee was appointed, consisting of three bishops from Ireland delegated by their colleagues; two representatives of the Arch-

* Hor., Carm. IV, I. 1.

† In 1832 the Irish Catholic Foundations were transferred from the department of the Minister of the Interior to that of the Minister of Public Instruction.

bishop of Paris and a delegate of the minister of public instruction.

The committee met at the Irish College from September 10 to 28, 1849. It consisted of the following members: Dr McHale, archbishop of Tuam; Dr Denvir, bishop of Down and Connor; Dr Cantwell, bishop of Meath, representing the bishops of Ireland; M. Léon Sibour, Vicar General of Paris and M. Louis Buquet, representing the archbishop of Paris; and M. Isodore Goschler, Superior of the Collège Stanislas, representing the Minister of Public Instruction.

The rules of the establishment were revised, and the course of studies approved. It was directed that the plan of studies should comprise rhetoric, two years's philosophy including natural science; and a three years' course of theology, scripture, canon law and ecclesiastical history. The financial state of the college was also investigated, and a new scheme for the distribution of burses amongst the dioceses of Ireland was drawn up. This scheme was ratified by the minister of instruction and has been in force down to recent times.

In 1850 a new rector was appointed in succession to Dr McSweeny. Dr Miley, the person selected, was a priest of the diocese of Dublin. He was widely known as a preacher and writer, but still more as the chaplain and companion of O'Connell on his journey to Rome in 1847. It was his privilege to console the last moments and receive the last sigh of the great man who had won emancipation for his Catholic fellow-countrymen as well as for Catholics throughout the British Empire. But while former superiors since 1824 had been also administrators of the college

property, the office of administrator was now separated from that of superior. A French ecclesiastic, the Abbé Caire, was appointed to the new office. On his retirement in 1854 both offices were again combined and remained united until 1859.

Dr Miley was assisted by able coadjutors. The Rev. Terence O'Rorke, the learned author of the "History of Sligo Town and County," was professor from 1849 to 1855. Father O'Loughlin, afterwards dean at the Catholic University, continued to give valued assistance to Dr Miley, as he had done to his predecessor. Dr Thomas McHale, the nephew of the Archbishop of Tuam, became professor of scripture and canon law in 1849. He had studied in Rome, and had taken the degree of doctor in philosophy and in theology in the Gregorian University. Dr McHale was a man of solid learning, of placid disposition and sincere piety. He continued to occupy his professor's chair until 1880, when he retired and was allowed a pension. He devoted his leisure to editing some of the works of his distinguished uncle and to collecting the materials for his "Life." He died in the college in December, 1891, and is interred at Arcueil.

Father Rice, of the diocese of Cloyne, and Father Lavelle, of Tuam, were also professors. The Abbé Charles Ouin Lacroix was professor of French.

In 1858 certain disciplinary difficulties arose, and the bishops of Ireland, with the sanction of the sacred Congregation of Propaganda, decided to entrust the government of the college to the Irish Vincentian fathers.

This change was carried out in the autumn of

1858. Dr Miley remained in office as administrator of the college property until 1859, when he returned to Ireland and was appointed parish priest of Bray in the diocese of Dublin. The Abbé Ouin Lacroix was appointed by the French government official administrator, and since that time the offices of superior and administrator have remained distinct.

The Rev. James Lynch, of the Vincentian community, was the first rector under the new *régime*. Under his paternal vigilance, discipline and piety flourished. Father Lynch inspired the students with the most dutiful sentiments towards the Holy See. In 1860 the superiors and students of the College presented an address to his Holiness Pope Pius IX. expressing their attachment to his temporal sovereignty and their detestation of the attacks made upon it. They received from the Holy Father a reply in which he assured them how acceptable to him were the sentiments they expressed of loyalty to his office, his person and his prerogatives. *

Father Lynch obtained from the Holy See several privileges for the college. One of these is worthy of being recorded. Not being able to discover with certainty to what saint the college chapel was dedicated, he petitioned the Holy See to declare St Patrick the patron of the chapel and college. The petition was granted, and thus the college obtained the appellation of St Patrick's Irish College, Paris. The older college was called St Mary's, from its foundation in 1333.

Amongst the members of the Vincentian com-

* See document no. 13.

munity who were professors during the rectorate of Father Lynch one deserves special mention, namely, Rev. Thomas Fitzpatrick, nephew of the Abbot of Melleray. After having occupied the chair of dogmatic theology, Father Fitzpatrick volunteered to go as a missioner to China, where he died after some years of zealous labour. Others also gave valuable co-operation: Rev. Andrew Campbell, Rev. Matthew Kavanagh, Rev. Francis Cooney, Rev. John Myers and Rev. Philip Burton were members of the staff at this period.

Besides the members of his own community, Father Lynch was assisted by several talented secular priests. Such was Rev. John McDermott, of the diocese of Achonry, who professed dogmatic theology. Such also was Rev. Thomas Lalor, of the diocese of Kerry, and in later times a canon of the diocese of Southwark. Such, too, was Rev. Thomas Kinane, now dean of Cashel, the two latter being students of the Irish College.

After eight years of zealous labour in Paris Father Lynch was selected by the Holy See as coadjutor to the Vicar apostolic of the Western district of Scotland. He received episcopal consecration in the chapel of the Irish College on November 4, 1866, and soon after took his departure for Scotland. In 1869 Dr Lynch became coadjutor to the Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, and succeeded to that See on the death of Dr Walsh in 1887. Dr Lynch was much esteemed by the people and clergy of his diocese, as well as by the whole body of the bishops of Ireland. While ever active in pastoral work, he was in a more than common degree a man of

prayer. He died in 1896 in the ninetieth year of his age.

Dr Lynch was succeeded by the Rev. Neal McCabe, who had been previously superior of St Vincent's Church, in Cork. Father McCabe held the office of rector but for a short time. He was promoted to the see of Ardagh, and was consecrated bishop in the Irish College on February 2, 1868, by the Papal Nuncio at Paris, Mgr Chigi. He attended the Vatican Council. His health had suffered much during his stay in Rome, and on his return homewards he fell sick and died at Marseilles in July, 1870. His remains were brought to Paris by his devoted friend and confrère, the bishop of Elphin. His funeral obsequies were celebrated at the church of the Vincentians in Rue de Sèvres, and he was laid to rest amongst the members of his community in the cemetery of Mont Parnasse.

The Rev. Thomas McNamara was appointed rector of the college in 1868 in succession to Dr McCabe. Father McNamara had, with Dr Lynch and the Rev. Philip Dowley, been a principal agent in establishing the Vincentian Order in Ireland and in organizing the work of missions. He had long experience of collegiate as well as of missionary work, and had filled the office of provincial of his order. At the time of his appointment as rector of the Irish College he was nearly sixty years of age, but possessed all the vigour of youth. He continued to govern the college until 1889. The staff of professors was made up partly of members of the Vincentian community and partly of secular priests. The Rev. Michael Logue, of the diocese of Raphoe, had become professor of dogmatic theology in

1866. He was at that time only in deacon's orders, and was ordained priest in the Vincentian church, Rue de Sèvres, in December of that year. Dr Logue occupied the chair of theology until 1874, with a brief interruption during the Franco-Prussian war. The success with which he fulfilled his duties and the amiable simplicity of his character won him the esteem and confidence of the students and of the superiors of the college. Wider and higher fields of labour opened to him, but he never ceased to take a deep interest in the welfare of the college which had been the scene of his earliest labours. His virtues and his talents gained him numerous friends and rapid promotion. But nowhere was his elevation to episcopal and archiepiscopal honours, and finally to the dignity of the cardinalate, hailed with greater joy than in the college to which he had given his first services as a priest. Dr Logue was succeeded in the chair of dogmatic theology by the Rev. Patrick Campbell, a priest of the diocese of Derry, and a man of great ability. He occupied that chair until his death in 1881. Another of the professors of this period was the Rev. Daniel Keller, of the diocese of Cloyne, who held the chair of philosophy from 1865 to 1870. Father Keller, now monsignor and dean of Cloyne, was a pupil of the college. He fulfilled his duties with great success until the state of his health compelled him to relinquish them. In flying from honours and in facing persecution on behalf of his flock he has since shown himself equally admirable, and his "alma mater" regards him with affectionate pride. Father Joseph Fennelly, of the diocese of Ossory, succeeded Father Keller in the chair of philosophy. Father

Clancy, of Killaloe, held for some years the chair of rhetoric. Both gave valued services to the college during the brief period of their professorship.

Amongst the members of his own community Father McNamara had many able assistants. Some of those who, like himself, have already gone to receive the reward of their labours may be mentioned without indiscretion. The Rev. Thomas Murphy was èconome from 1862 to 1886. Physical weakness and suffering had impressed upon him an air of severity which was no index of his heart. He was a careful bursar. In ecclesiastical history he was well read, and he was the first who endeavoured to rescue from oblivion the past history of the college. The account he wrote of it was published in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* of 1866. Father Murphy retired from the college in 1886 and spent the last years of his life at St Vincent's, Mill Hill, near London, where he died in 1897.

The Rev. John Burke held the chair of Moral Theology from 1866 to 1891. Before entering on his duties he had long experience as a missioner in Ireland. He was well read in theology. He was also well versed in history, particularly in that of France and of Paris. The childlike simplicity of his character and the urbanity of his manner charmed all who approached him. For a quarter of a century he was to the students of the college a model of every ecclesiastical virtue. Retiring from the duties of professor in 1891 he spent the greater part of the remaining years of his life at Mill Hill. He died at Blackrock near Dublin in 1894.

Another member of the staff also belonging

to the Congregation of the Mission was the Rev. Daniel Brosnahan. From 1873 to 1887 he devoted all his energy to the service of the college, first as professor of philosophy and afterwards of theology. In stature he was head and shoulders above ordinary men, and no less gifted in mental power. An early death cut short in 1887 a career which promised to be one of great usefulness.

Amongst the colleagues of Father McNamara who still survive, where all are worthy of praise, it is invidious to make distinctions. But there are two who must not be omitted as their services were of longer duration than those of the others. One was the Rev. George Campbell, C.M. Two of his brothers, Rev. Andrew Campbell, a priest of the Congregation of the Mission, and Rev. Patrick Campbell, a secular priest, both men who while students in Maynooth College had earned for themselves a reputation for talent and scholarship, had served the Irish College as professors of Theology. But Father George, the youngest of the three, placed the College under a deeper obligation. For six-and-twenty years he discharged with vigilance, activity and zeal the various duties assigned to him, first as professor of Rhetoric, then as a professor of Scripture and Canon Law, and finally as vice-president of the College. He retired from his duties in the Irish College in 1893.

Rev. Thomas Hardy, C.M., was a professor in the College for fourteen years. He discharged the duties which fell to his lot with great efficiency, and all past students will testify to the progress made in sacred music and in ceremonies under his guidance.

Aided by such auxiliaries Father McNamara found the government of the college a task of no great difficulty.

Many events worthy of record took place during his rectorate.

In 1869 the centenary of the change of residence from the Lombard College, Rue des Carmes, to Rue des Irlandais occurred. The event was duly celebrated. The assembly at the centenary banquet was a memorable one.

The Vicomte de L'Escalopier* represented the family to whose munificence the Irish students owed so much more than two hundred years before. Count Walsh and Commandant Corbet represented the period from 1804 to 1814 when they had been themselves students in the college. Dr Keane, bishop of Cloyne; Dr O'Hea of Ross and Dr Gillooly of Elphin were worthy representatives of the older generation of students. Dr McCabe of Ardagh represented the former superiors of the establishment; Dr Derry of Clonfert, Dr McGettigan of Raphoe and archbishop McHale of Tuam represented the Episcopate of Ireland; Bishop Ryan of Buffalo and archbishop Kenrick of St Louis represented the greater Ireland beyond the Atlantic, and Mgr the Prince Chigi, Papal Nuncio, attended by two prelates of his household, presided at the banquet and by his presence and by an address delivered in English, gave to the college the assurance how fully its fidelity to the Holy See was appreciated. To add to the splendour of the ceremony, His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon III,

* The Vte de L'Escalopier, imitating the liberality of his ancestor, made the gift of a plot of ground at Arcueil adjoining the country house in 1865.

at the request of the zealous administrator, l'Abbé Ouin Lacroix, sent candelabra, lustres and tapestry from the Tuileries to ornament the banquet hall.

The following year, 1870, on January 27, the college was honoured by a visit from Marshal McMahon, then governor general of Algiers. The Marshal was received with the respect and the enthusiasm due to so noble a representative of Irish valour and Irish faith.

In July, 1870, the war between France and Prussia broke out. Paris was besieged, and the Irish College remained closed for twelve months.

The rector, professors and students remained in Ireland. The Abbé Lacroix, in his capacity of official administrator, took charge of the college and its property. Before leaving Paris the rector of the college obtained from Lord Lyons, the British ambassador, permission to hoist the flag of England, and thus place the college under British protection. He also authorized M. Lacroix to allow the college to be utilized as a hospital for wounded soldiers. This permission was availed of, and during the siege of Paris the college gave hospitality to about three hundred wounded men.

"Bella, horrida bella . . . . cerno,"* sang the ancient sybil. What would have been her expressions had she known modern warfare? It was fortunate for the Irish students and professors that they had escaped in time and were not obliged to endure the hardships of the siege.

In the beleaguered city life was in danger from famine and from Prussian shells. We learn from contemporary documents that, during the one hundred and forty days of the siege,

* *Aeneid*, vi, 86.

provisions became scarce and incredibly dear. On January 7, 1871, a chicken sold in the Paris market for 40 francs, a rabbit for 35 francs, mutton for 25 francs a pound, an egg for 2 francs, horseflesh for 7 francs per pound, a cat for 20 francs, a rat for 4 francs, a sparrow for 3 francs, and a bushel of potatoes for 30 francs.

During two-and-forty days the city was bombarded. Night and day a hail of iron fell on the devoted city; some of the projectiles weighing ninety-four kilos or about 200 pounds. In the night between the 8th and 9th January a shell fell every two minutes in the district of Paris lying between St Sulpice and the Odéon.

The Irish College escaped injury. Only two shells fell in it, and these did no damage. It was necessary, however, to place the wounded men in the cellars during the bombardment.

The administrator remained faithfully at his post during the siege, and by balloon post managed to send to the superior in Ireland an account of what was going on in Paris. Father McNamara, on his part, communicated to the bishops of Ireland and to the press the intelligence he received, and took an active part in helping on the organization of a relief fund for the wounded, which sent to France a substantial proof of Irish sympathy with her in her calamities. Father McNamara was himself the means of conveying to M. Lacroix before the end of the period of suffering the sum of 7,000 francs for the relief of the wounded.

During the siege of Paris by the Prussians the college suffered no injury. During the insurrection of the communists, which followed soon after, it was in imminent danger. The

administrator was obliged to seek safety in concealment. But a faithful servant named François OSee remained at his post, and twice when the communists came seeking admission he pointed out to them the British flag, convinced them that the college was the property of foreigners, and induced them to withdraw.

The country house at Arcueil was less fortunate than the college in Paris. A body of French troops made it their quarters. It suffered severely at their hands. The damage done to it was estimated by the administrator M. Lacroix at 16,044 francs. The cantonal committee under the French government estimated the injury at 12,191 francs. A partial indemnity was afterwards obtained. The bishops of Ireland and the former students of the college subsequently subscribed about £600 to aid in putting the country house into repair.

France suffered severely from the war. The heavy war indemnity of £200,000,000 is known to everyone. There were other losses too. From a letter addressed to the superior of the Irish College on 26th May, 1875, by M. Durang, then an official in the office of the Minister of the Interior, we learn that the injury to property resulting from the invasion was estimated at 659,000,000 francs. As an indemnity the National Assembly voted only 211 millions; hence M. Durang stated that it was beyond his power to grant by way of compensation more than 29 or 30 per cent. of the loss actually sustained.

During his enforced leisure in Ireland Father McNamara's mind was engaged on a question into which he entered with great enthusiasm,

namely, the revival of the claim for an indemnity which had been rejected by the lords of the Privy Council in 1832. He secured the approval of the bishops of Ireland, and Mr William Bullen, Q.C., of London, undertook the legal conduct of the case.

We will allow Father McNamara himself to give an account of the proceedings. In a manuscript note he says: "The claims of the Irish College on the British government were revived by a motion made by the Marquis of Clanricarde on May 9, 1870, for copies of the award made in the case of the Rev. Paul Long, as administrator general of the Irish College at Paris, by the commissioners appointed for the liquidation of British claims out of the funds received from the French government, and of the judgment of the Privy Council in 1832 on the appeal from that award; also a copy of the judgment in 1825 in the appeal case of the English College at Douai.

"It was deemed advisable to follow up this first step by a motion for a select committee of parliament to investigate the claims of the college.

"With this view a meeting consisting of four Irish bishops and of the Irish members of parliament took place on May 8, 1871, at Westminster Palace Hotel, London. The Most Rev. Dr Keane, bishop of Cloyne, was elected chairman, and Sir Rowland Blennerhasset secretary. A resolution to the following effect was proposed by the Most Rev. Dr Moriarty and seconded by Mr Heron, Q.C., and adopted: 'That this meeting regards the claim of the Irish College at Paris on the British government as a matter of national interest, affecting the entire Roman Catholic community of Ireland, and therefore

entitled to the consideration of parliament, so far at least as to grant a committee of inquiry into the claim.' "

Sir Rowland Blennerhasset, secretary of the meeting, waited on Mr Gladstone, and it was arranged that Lord Granville should receive a deputation of the Irish bishops and Irish members of parliament on the subject mentioned in the foregoing resolution.

A memorial summarizing the grounds of the claims of the Irish College was prepared to be put into the hands of Lord Granville. "The noble lord," writes Father McNamara, "who was exceedingly courteous, promised that the matter should receive the most careful consideration of the government, but added that every government had extreme unwillingness to disturb a decision of the Privy Council, such as that which had decided the claims put forward, and that the difficulty was all the greater on account of the length of the time since it had been decided."

The great objection of the government to reopen the case was that the case was, as they conceived, without precedent. A search was accordingly made for a similar case, and it was found that the case of the Baron de Bode was in every way similar. The Baron de Bode had sustained losses at the same time and from the same cause as the Irish College. His claim had been rejected, and the award had been affirmed on appeal in the same year, 1832. The Baron had applied to the Court of Queen's Bench for a mandamus against the Treasury, and was defeated. After several unsuccessful trials he appealed to the House of Lords, and was de-

feated in 1851. In 1852 his case was again brought before the House of Lords, and the lords, on the motion of Lord Lyndhurst, supported by Lord Truro, who had both been lords chancellors, granted a select committee to inquire into the claim. Lord Lyndhurst, in introducing the motion, made the noteworthy declaration that "neither lapse of time, nor technicalities, nor any inconvenience of being called upon to pay a sum of money however large ought to prevent the discharge of such a claim on the part of this country."

Earl Grey was equally explicit. "If," he said, "there was a valid claim on the equity and justice of the nation, however large the sum might be, it was the duty of parliament to find means of meeting it." *

There was therefore a precedent for granting a committee of inquiry. The case of the college was stronger even than that of the Baron de Bode. Its claim had been presented within the proper time, whereas the claim of the Baron de Bode had not in the first instance been presented within the appointed time.

A petition signed by fifty members of parliament was accordingly presented to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, First Lord of the Treasury, requesting the government not to oppose the motion for the appointment of a select committee. Mr Gladstone replied that the question was under the consideration of the government.

On May 9, 1872, Mr Sergeant Sherlock moved for a return of the correspondence between the Treasury and the Earl of Dunraven and the Marquis of Clanricarde, relative to the claims of

* Hansard, 3 ser., vol. 122, p. 478.

the Irish College, Paris, and the House ordered the correspondence to be printed.

After many delays the motion for a select committee to inquire into the claims of the College was introduced on April 30, 1875, by Mr Butt, Q.C., member of Parliament for Limerick. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Attorney General strongly opposed the motion, and on a division it was negatived by 116 votes against 54.

Mr Butt was not discouraged by the result. In a letter to Father McNamara, dated May 20, 1875, he wrote: "I am quite sure this ought not to be our final effort. On the contrary, I think we have every encouragement to persevere. I am clearly of opinion that the motion ought to be renewed early next session, and I still hope for ultimate success. In spite of all disadvantages, the division list showed that we had made an impression on many men not likely to be prejudiced in our favour."

Mr Butt, in an earlier letter to the rector of the College, paid a well-merited tribute to Mr Bullen's zeal in the case. "I have been in communication," he wrote, "with Mr Bullen, who has searched out the facts and bearings of the case with wonderful industry and skill. So far as I have been able to master them, I think we can make out an unanswerable case. We will, no doubt, be encountered by a strong indisposition to entertain a claim of so many years' standing, but I believe that a sense of justice will prevail even over this."

In his annual report to the bishops of Ireland, dated June 1875, Father McNamara placed on record his appreciation of the zeal and energy

with which Mr Butt advocated the claims of the College. "It is due," he said, "to the distinguished member for Limerick to state that he brought all his matchless ability to the effort, which we must gratefully remember he undertook spontaneously and from a conviction of the justice of our claim; and that on the occasion he displayed all that hearty earnestness for which he is so remarkable in every cause in which he embarks."

Since 1875 no further effort has been made to bring the question before Parliament. Meanwhile another question had engaged the attention of the indefatigable rector.

Since 1858 the office of administrator of the college property had remained separated from that of superior, and was in the hands of a French ecclesiastic, the Abbé Lacroix. Father McNamara held that it would be for the advantage of the College to unite the two offices. The rector, without any increase of salary and without any inconvenience to himself, could perform the duties for the performance of which a salary of 3,000 francs was paid to the administrator. The bishops of Ireland entered into this view, and a deputation of their body visited Paris in 1872, and laid a statement before the Minister of Public Instruction advocating the reunion of the two offices. The question was referred by the minister to the Council of State; and in 1873 a decree of that body, signed by the President of the French Republic, was published, establishing a Bureau Gratuit to administer the property of the college, subject to the control of the Minister of Instruction.* By the establish-

* The Abbé Lacroix received a temporary pension, and subsequently was appointed a Canon at St-Denis.

ment of a bureau the salary of an administrator was economised, but the superior of the college obtained no more administrative power than he possessed previously. The decree of 1873 called forth a strong protest from the bishops of Ireland, and it was amended to some extent by a supplementary decree of the same tribunal in 1878.*

The Bureau Gratuit, established in 1873, is charged with the administration of the property of the Irish Catholic foundations in France. It consists of seven members, namely: a member representing the Conseil d'Etat; one representing the Cour de Cassation; a third representing the Cour des Comptes; a fourth chosen by the Archbishop of Paris as his delegate; two members appointed by the Minister of Public Instruction; and lastly the superior of the college. The bureau thus constituted elects its chairman and secretary, and delegates its authority for the details of business to a member who is also its treasurer. Any of the members other than the superior of the college is eligible to the aforesaid offices.

The establishment of such a bureau is quite in harmony with French law and usages in what concerns the administration of ecclesiastical property. The first president of the Bureau Gratuit was the Marquis de Ségur, a man whose piety, benevolence and loyalty to the Holy See are widely known. Amongst the first members of that body was M. Edmund Connelly, Conseiller à la Cour de Cassation. M. Connelly was descended from an Irish family which had settled in France in the seventeenth

* See Document no. 11.

century. On the establishment of the Institut Catholique in Paris, he became dean and professor of the Faculty of Law. In later years he took orders, and became honorary canon of Arras, Chambéry and Paris. On becoming a priest he ceased to represent the Court of Cassation on the Bureau Gratuit. He continued, however, to entertain the most friendly relations with the college down to the time of his death in 1900.

In his report for the year 1884, Father McNamara spoke of the services of the Bureau Gratuit in the following terms: "The Bureau Gratuit, your lordships will be glad to know, continues to interest itself very earnestly in the temporal concerns of the college, without interfering in the least in the internal working of the establishment, and its services are invaluable to us in such negotiations as are entailed by measures of the kind we have to deal with in Bordeaux."

The gentlemen who at present form the Bureau have the esteem and confidence of the Archbishop of Paris. One of them, M. Musnier de Pleignes, is also a member of the committee of the Church of the Sacred Heart at Montmartre. M. Crépon, the president, is chairman of the committee of the Institution St Nicholas in Paris. In a recent work, entitled "Pensées d'un Chrétien sur la Vie Morale," (Paris, 1900) and in articles contributed to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* he inculcates the importance of Christian principles and defends the rights of the Church in France. In the measures which they have from time to time adopted the gentlemen who from the Bureau Gratuit, have always acted, not in

a spirit of unfriendliness, but in accordance with what they believed to be for the permanent advantage of the College.

Father McNamara devoted the latter years of his life to the composition of several works of utility to ecclesiastics. In 1889 he retired from the government of the college, and lived at St Joseph's, Blackrock. He was a man in whom great powers of mind were strengthened by study and by long and varied experience, and who was as remarkable for deep piety as for inflexible strength of character. He died in 1892, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

About the time of Father McNamara's retirement it was found necessary to carry out extensive repairs to the college buildings. The outlay required for that purpose could not be met by the ordinary resources of the college. There was no other fund to fall back on. The bureau of administration in these circumstances judged that the only course open to them was to reduce to fifty the number of free burses which had been fixed in 1849 at eighty-three. By this measure they have been able to economise means to provide for necessary repairs and improvements. The greater part of the interior of the college has been renovated. Baths have been provided; and an apparatus for heating the entire college my means of hot-water pipes has been erected.

During the period that elapsed from 1850 to 1889 the number of students in the college was about one hundred. In discipline and in application they equalled any body of ecclesiastical students in the Church. The students of that period have since done splendid work as mis-

sionary priests. Many of them hold the highest posts of confidence in their dioceses. Four of the students of this period have been raised to Episcopal rank. The late Dr Fitzgerald, Bishop of Ross, was a student in the College from 1853 to 1857. Dr McRedmond, Bishop of Killaloe, entered in 1852 and left in 1855. In more recent years Dr McSherry, Bishop of the Eastern District of Cape Colony, was a student from 1871 to 1875; and Dr Denis Kelly, now Bishop of Ross, entered the Irish College in 1872 and left it in 1877. The three prelates last named are full of zeal and energy, and are an honour to their Alma Mater.

The duties of the professor and those of the missionary priest leave little leisure for other occupations; yet the college has not been altogether without a share in the religious literature of the century. The allocutions of the late Bishop of Kerry, once a member of the College staff, are models of the grave eloquence which befits a bishop. Dr Miley's "History of Rome under the Popes" was written before he became connected with the college; but whilst he was rector he published his "History of the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes," and had that valuable work presented to French readers also in a translation by the Abbé Lacroix, then a member of the college staff.

Dr O'Rorke of Achonry has written well of his native county and its history, and the erudite Bishop of Clonfert attributes the excellence of Dr O'Rorke's style to his industry while a professor in Paris.

The late Canon Lalor of Southwark, an alumnus and a professor of the college, in his

unpretentious periodical entitled, "Pastoralia," rendered valuable service to his fellow priests.

Mgr Kinane, Dean of Cashel, first a student and then a professor in the college, has been a prolific writer. His "Angel of the Altar," and "Dove of the Tabernacle," "Mary Immaculate," "St Patrick," and "The Souls in Purgatory," are works remarkable for the correctness of the doctrine they teach, and the unction of which they are redolent. They have communicated to many hearts the piety of the author, and some of them have been translated into foreign languages.

The Rev. Philip Burton, for some time a professor in the College, published at a later period a Life of St Augustine of which scholars have testified the value.

But by far the largest contribution to ecclesiastical literature came from the pen of Father McNamara. While rector of the College he wrote and published a large number of works. His treatise on Sacred Rhetoric, his "Programmes of Sermons and Instructions," and his "Encheiridion Clericorum," placed within the reach of the public the instructions he had been imparting to the students of the College in class or in spiritual conferences. Besides these he published a volume of instructions on the sacraments under the title "Pax Vobis," and a volume of short pastoral addresses for the Sundays and festivals throughout the year, entitled "Allocutions," which are both works of practical utility. He was also the author of many articles in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* on "Probabilism," on the "Discussion between Bossuet and Claude" and on other similar subjects, most of which he wrote under the name of a "Veteran Practitioner." He wrote also a

pamphlet on "The Claims of the Deaf Mutes to be admitted to the Sacraments," followed by another entitled, "Vindication of the Claims of the Deaf Mutes to be admitted to the Sacraments." Numerous pamphlets issued from his pen on questions connected with the college. By the life-sketch of Sister Clare Boylan, and by a translation from the French of the Life of Bertha de Mornay, he testified the great interest he took in the works of the Sisters of Charity.

In more recent years another member of the college staff, the Rev. John McGuinness, has published four volumes of a course of dogmatic theology, which competent critics have pronounced to be characterized by clearness, succinctness and solidity.

During the last twelve years the College has not been unworthy of its past traditions. The College buildings bear the marks of age. We may say of them:

> Non ebur neque aureum
> Mea renidet in domo lacunar.*

It possesses the greatest ornament of a college, the "Ingeni benigna vena" of its students. Its students are at present seventy in number. The course of studies comprises two years' philosophy, and four years' theology; French is taught by a Frenchman. The College is subject to the authority of the bishops of Ireland, who each year depute two members of their body to make a visitation of the establishment. The superiors are the Irish Vincentian Fathers, who have received within the years since 1889 valued and valuable aid from the Rev. Michael Quinn and

* Hor., Od. lib. ii, 15.

the Rev. John Clarke of Armagh, and from the Rev. Joseph Boyle and the Rev. Patrick O'Doherty of Raphoe.*

Such is a brief account of the Irish College, Paris, during the three centuries of its existence. During that period it has passed through many vicissitudes. At its commencement it owed its existence to the generous charity of Catholic France. In the course of years, royal, consular, imperial and republican governments have protected it. It counts with confidence on the protection of the noble French nation for the future.

Nor is it unmindful of what it owes to the protection of Lord Gower in 1791, and of Lord Lyons and of his representative, Sir Edward Malet, in 1870-71. The flag of England saved the college when France was at the mercy of her foes.

The history of the College is also a proof of the undying attachment of the Irish to the Catholic faith. The young men who could brave exile and poverty to obtain ecclesiastical education, and when they had won academical honours could return to live in the mountains and the glens of Ireland, were truly witnesses of the faith, martyrs in preparation of heart, as many of them afterwards became martyrs in fact.

This history will moreover serve to bring out into clearer light what manner of men were the Irish priests of the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

The men who studied philosophy for two years and theology for four in the most renowned school and under the ablest professors in Europe,

* Father O'Doherty published an article on the Irish College in the *American Catholic Quarterly* in 1898.

who contributed their share to the professorial staff of the greatest of the colleges of the Paris University, were in no wise inferior to the priesthood of Ireland at the present time.

Many changes have taken place in the quarter of the schools since the Irish first took up their abode in it. The network of nearly forty colleges which covered the slopes of the Montagne Ste-Geneviève has almost disappeared. Plessis and Grassins, and Lisieux and the Mathurins where the university meetings were held, are gone. The Montaigu College has given place to the Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève. The college of Navarre, where Moore presided and Plunket taught, has made way for the Ecole Polytechnique. The Sorbonne itself has undergone a change. Its theological faculty is no more.

The old Lombard College, still Irish property, is let to a "Cercle Catholique" of workingmen. The old chapel which Vaubrun built is occupied by them, and Mass is said every Sunday in the church, over the crypt where the ashes of Bishops Molony and Maguire and of many other sainted and learned Irishmen sleep.

The court where Postel lectured is silent, except when, within the octave of Corpus Christi, its echoes are awakened by the manly voices of French workmen chanting the Lauda Sion in the procession of the Blessed Sacrament.

The college in Rue des Irlandais is still the home of young Irishmen as talented and as virtuous as their predecessors of the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

All things around are changing. Let us hope that the venerable "alma mater" of so

CHAPEL OF THE IRISH COLLEGE, 5 RUE DES IRLANDAIS PARIS, Ve ARR.

many of the Irish priesthood will also keep pace with the movement around, and that her youth "will be renewed like the eagle's." Under the fostering care of the Irish episcopate she enters with confidence on the fourth century of her existence. And turning to her sons, she trusts that the story of her career will remind each of them :

> *Αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν, καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,*
> *μηδέ γένος πατέρων αἰσχύνεμεν, οἵ μεν ἄριστοι*
> *. . . . ἐγένοντο.**

* Ibid l-vi, 208.

CHAPTER

Colleges united to the Irish College, Paris, by Consular, Imperial and Royal Decrees

THE foregoing sketch of the Irish College in Paris would be incomplete without some account of the other Irish colleges in France. They were working for the same cause; and when they ceased to exist as educational establishments the Irish College in Paris became their heir. Those colleges were situated at Bordeaux, Toulouse, Nantes, Poitiers, Douai and Lille. The Scotch and English Colleges at Paris were also united for some time to the Irish College, and they too cannot be passed over unnoticed.

We purpose to give such details regarding those establishments as we have been able to gather from authentic sources. Meagre though they are, they deserve to be recorded; for if it be laudable to "gather up fragments lest they perish," the fragments of the history of a nation's struggle to preserve her priesthood deserve themselves to be preserved.

The Irish College at Bordeaux

This account is compiled from documents existing in the Irish College, Paris.

ABOUT the year 1600 forty Irish ecclesiastics took refuge in Bordeaux. They were hospitably received and placed in charge of the Church of St Eutropius. In 1606 Cardinal de Sourdis,

Archbishop of Bordeaux, founded a college for them which received the approbation of Pope Paul V, in a bull dated April 25, 1618. We learn from O'Sullivan Beare, in his "History of Ireland," published in 1621, that the Irish College in Bordeaux had already rendered valuable service to the Church in Ireland. In 1653 Anne of Austria, regent of France, bestowed on the Irish seminary at Bordeaux an endowment of 1,200 livres for the support of ten priests and ten students. This act of royal bounty was occasioned by a service rendered by two Irish priests at Bordeaux to the cause of the Queen Regent. During the wars of the Fronde the rebels had seized Bordeaux. The Spanish monarch sent a force to support them. Amongst the Spanish troops was a body of 5,000 Irishmen, under the command of Colonels McCarthy and O'Scanlon. As they were about to enter Bordeaux they were met by two Irish priests, the Rev. Cornelius O'Scanlon and the Rev. Dermod McCarthy, who were superiors of the Irish church and college and brothers of the two colonels. Yielding to the persuasions of the two priests, the Irish troops resolved to give no support to the rebels. As soon as peace was made, five battalions of Irishmen withdrew from the service of Spain and enrolled themselves under the flag of France. To requite the services of the Irish priests the Regent endowed the Irish College, which ever after bore the title of Ste-Anne la Royale.*

According to the statutes of the college the superior was chosen by election for a term of

* Taken from a pamphlet by the Abbé Burke, addressed to Mᵉ la Duchesse d'Augoulême.

three years; and it was prescribed that the person so elected should be taken from each of the provinces of Ireland in turn. In consequence of difficulties arising out of the system of appointments by election, the nomination of the superior was ultimately reserved to the Archbishop of Bordeaux.

We learn from a statement of the Rev. James Burke, canon of St-Astier in the diocese of Bordeaux and a former student of the college, that not long before the Revolution Lord Hervey, Earl of Bristol and Protestant bishop of Derry, visited Bordeaux in the course of this his third tour on the continent. He was brought by the Catholic archbishop, Mgr de Cicé, to the Irish College, and assisted for three days at the academical exercises of the students. On leaving, he expressed the gratification the visit afforded him. "This," said his Lorship to Mgr de Cicé, "is the third tour I have made on the continent, and I have not yet seen any of the Irish colleges so well furnished nor the students so well instructed as in your house at Bordeaux."

The Rev. Martin Glynn, of the province of Connaught, was appointed superior in 1775, and continued in office until the Revolution. In 1782 he induced Dr Everard, who was returning from Spain, to remain at Bordeaux as vice-rector. The college was attacked by a band of revolutionists in November, 1793. Dr Everard succeeded in making his escape, and afterwards became president of Maynooth College and later on Archbishop of Cashel.

Dr Glynn, who was an old man of eighty years, was seized and thrown into prison. Next

day he was brought forth from prison, subjected to great indignity and cruelly put to death.*

The other inmates of the college were also imprisoned. In 1811 the Rev. James Burke, above alluded to, applied to the administrators of the Irish College in Paris for a pension. His application, which was granted, was based on the services he declared he had rendered to the Bordeaux College. In support of his statement he produced the attestation of a certain M. Ysabeau, ex-legislator of Bordeaux. According to M. Ysabeau, the Abbé Burke had rendered him a great service by assisting in the introduction of provisions into Bordeaux; and he therefore asked him what return he could make to him. The Abbé Burke replied: "Save the lives of my compatriots who are shut up in the Carmelite convent. Save the seminary where I was educated." "Then," Ysabeau continues, "as to the fifty Irish priests and students, I gave them their liberty, and I engaged for them an American vessel which conveyed them to Ireland."†

Thanks to the devotedness of the Abbé Burke, the seminary was spared. After the Revolution, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, hearing that there was a question of reopening the Irish College, wrote to the Abbé Burke on February 12, 1816, saying: "I am pleased to learn that M. Everard is endeavouring with you to reopen an establishment so useful and so edifying, and which the extreme weakening of the sacred ministry in this diocese would render more and more valuable to us."

* See Renehan's *Archbishops*, p. 383; also Burke's *Statement in Paris*.

† Attestation de M. Ysabeau. Paris, Feb. 8, 1811.

The college was not reopened. The buildings were let to tenants, and the rents applied to the support of the college in Paris. In 1887 the old college, which was situated in Rue de Ha, was sold by the Bureau Gratuit on very favourable terms, and the capital realized invested in the name of the Irish Catholic Foundations. The church of St Eutropius, which was also Irish property and was valued at 21,200 francs, was lost at the Revolution. During the two centuries of its existence the Bordeaux college gave many zealous priests to the Irish mission. Edward Wakefield, in his work entitled "An Account of Ireland Statistical and Political," published in London in 1812, bears testimony to the character of the Irish Catholic clergy, and he makes express reference to those educated at Bordeaux. "The parish priests," he writes, "with whom I became acquainted, had all received a part of their education in a foreign country. By long residence abroad they spoke the French language with fluency and had a very general knowledge of the affairs of the continent. With England they seemed to be little acquainted, few of them having ever been there. The greater number had gone from Dublin or Cork to Bordeaux or Lisbon, and after staying for some time in Portugal or France had returned to their native country." (Vol. ii, p. 554.)

The Irish Seminary at Toulouse

Compiled partly from documents copied for the writer at the "Archives de Toulouse," and partly from a work entitled "Mémoires Historiques et Chronologiques sur les Séminaires établis dans la ville de Toulouse" (Toulouse, 1852), kindly lent by the Abbé Pangy, P.S.S., professor at the Grand Séminaire, Toulouse.

THE Irish College at Toulouse, like that at Bordeaux, bore the title of Ste-Anne la Royale. It was founded by Anne of Austria. Louis XIV confirmed the foundation, and by letters patent, dated December, 1659, granted it an endowment of 1,200 livres on the Gabelles de Languedoc, for the education of twelve priests for the Irish mission.

According to its statutes the college was subject to the archbishop of Toulouse, and governed by a superior elected, as was usual in the other Irish seminaries in France, by the votes of the students.

The college was opened in 1660, the first superior being the Rev. Daniel McCarthy. From the register of the entrance of students from December 1684 to March 28, 1694, we can gather some information as to the number of students in the Toulouse College and the dioceses to which they belonged. Between those dates twenty students entered, of whom eleven belonged to the diocese of Cork, four to Aghadoe, three to Cloyne, one to Limerick and one to a diocese not named. Two of their number died, one was killed by accident on his way home, one left the college and one removed to Bordeaux. Of the rest two remained as priests in France, the others returned to the mission in

Ireland. The superior of the college was the Rev. Manuce O'Keefe in 1684 and in 1686 the Rev. William Cheriton.

In 1694, in consequence of divisions arising out of the elections, the archbishop, Mgr de Colbert, issued a mandate, reserving the appointment of a superior to himself. Having obtained letters patent confirming his mandate, he appointed the Rev. Florence McCarthy rector. A visitation of the college was then made by order of the archbishop, and it was found that of the twelve students on the foundation only six resided in the college. An appeal, *comme d'abus*, was lodged against the appointment made by the archbishop. But the only result of the appeal was an order from the parliament of Toulouse to the students forbidding them to recognize any other superior than Father McCarthy. After some time a royal order was issued directing that for the next appointment the students should present a list of three names from whom the archbishop should select the superior. Finally, in 1753, new rules of discipline were approved by the Archbishop of Bordeaux in virtue of powers specially granted by His Holiness Benedict XIV. According to these rules the students practised mental prayer and heard Mass daily. Those in holy orders recited the office in common daily and confessed once a week. The students in minor orders were bound to confess once a fortnight, and all were required to present to the superior a certificate signed by their confessor testifying that they had fulfilled that duty. The course of studies was limited to eight years, and the students went out to class, we presume to the university, morning and evening. Each year

there was a competition amongst the theologians for a prize of twenty livres tournois, bequeathed by the Rev. Peter O'Daly, who had been superior of the college.

At the outbreak of the Revolution the Rev. Robert McCarthy was superior. The annual revenue of the seminary at that time was 10,000 francs. During the Revolution the college buildings were alienated by the government, and the endowments lost. In the statement of claims made in 1816 the loss including movable property was estimated at 36,725 francs. In 1852 the college buildings were still in existence, having become the property of a private individual. The college stood in the Rue Valade and formed one of the angles of the Rue Labastide.

The following are the names of the superiors which we have been able to ascertain: Rev. Daniel McCarthy, 1660; Rev. Manuce O'Keefe, 1684; Rev. William Cheriton, 1688; Rev. M. McSyny, 1694; Rev. Florence McCarthy, 1696; Rev. Mr O'Sihan, 1699; Rev. Fr. Daly, 1730; Rev. Mr O'Hea, 1753; Rev. Robert McCarthy, 1791.

Amongst the distinguished men who studied at Toulouse may be mentioned Dr Moylan, of Cork, who, after commencing his studies at Paris, went to Toulouse on account of his health. Dr Cornelius O'Keefe, afterwards bishop of Limerick, also spent some time at Toulouse. Many interesting documents concerning the Irish College at Toulouse are to be found at the Archives du Département de la Haute-Garonne, Toulouse.

The Irish College at Nantes

Compiled from documents in the Irish College, Paris; see also THE DUBLIN REVIEW, *"The Irish at Nantes," vol. cx, January and April, 1892.*

A COLLEGE for the education of priests for the Irish Mission was established at Nantes, with the approval of the bishop of the diocese, about 1680. In 1728 a new college was built capable of accommodating about eighty students. The chapel was dedicated to St Gabriel the Archangel. The number of students at the beginning of the eighteenth century was thirty-five. In 1765 it had increased to sixty, and in 1793 it had reached eighty.

The students were dependent in a great measure on the offerings of the charitable and the stipends received for the performance of ecclesiastical functions. By royal letters patent dated 1765 the union of the priory of Crispin to the Irish Seminary was authorized, and permission granted to receive gifts for the support of the establishment.

The Irish students were permitted to attend class in their own college. The University of Nantes, however, exercised jurisdiction over the college, and in 1766 drew up a series of regulations respecting the studies at the Irish College.

The university authorities required that no students should be permitted to attend the classes in the Irish Seminary unless such as were Irish, or at least natives of the British Isles. Permission was granted to teach philosophy and theology, and the appointment of two professors of philosophy was allowed, provided the persons filling

those chairs had the degree of master of arts. Two professors of theology were authorized to teach, but it was prescribed that they should have the degree of bachelor in theology and should take the degree of doctor within three years from the date of their appointment.

The professors were obliged to notify to the university the names of their students and the treatises on which they purposed to lecture, and to hold class only during the university terms. They were moreover ordered to teach the four articles of Gallican doctrine stated in the Declaration of the clergy of France in 1682.

Only two doctors in theology were admitted to the university meetings with a right to vote. If there were other Irish priests in the seminary having the degree of doctor they were permitted to be present at the meetings of the university, but without votes.

While the principal object of the seminary at Nantes was to supply the wants of the mission in Ireland, we find it stated in the letters patent of 1765 that many students of the college received appointments in France, some as curés, others as chaplains to hospitals, and others as chaplains in the navy.

One of the superiors of the College of Nantes, the Rev. John Baptist Walsh, D.D., became in 1788 superior of the Lombard College in Paris. He was succeeded at Nantes by the Rev. Patrick James Byrne, D.D., a Paris student, who held office until 1793.

There were at the outbreak of the Revolution, besides the rector, seven priests, four of whom were doctors in theology, and between seventy and eighty students.

The college continued its work down to 1792. In that year, by order of the Department, the college was searched, and the priests were forbidden to go out to celebrate Mass in the city. On April 5, 1793, the inmates of the college were cast into prison, but soon after they were permitted to go on board a vessel bound for Cork. The Rev. Patrick James Byrne, the last rector of the college, made his escape to Paris, and thence to Ireland. Dr Byrne became in 1807 president of Maynooth College. Having retired from that office, he was appointed parish priest of Armagh and dean and vicar-general of the diocese.

After the Revolution nothing remained of the college except the buildings, a portion of which was in 1813 destroyed by fire. What remained was let to tenants by the administrator of the Irish College, Paris.

In 1857 the old Irish College was sold by the Rev. Dr Miley, by authorization of the Minister of Public Instruction, and the price, amounting to 100,000 francs, invested in the name of the Fondations Catholiques Irlandaises.

The Irish College at Poitiers

Compiled from legal documents belonging to the Irish College, Paris; and from the "Recueil des Ouvrages de M. le President Roland." Paris, 1783, ch. vi, pp. 642-655.

THE Irish College at Poitiers belonged to the Irish fathers of the Society of Jesus. It was founded in virtue of letters patent granted by Louis XIV in 1674. Two foundations for the education of students for the secular mission were made in the college. The widow of John O'Meaher of the County Tipperary gave 16,000

livres to establish two burses, and Jeremiah Cruoly of the County of Cork gave 30,000 livres to found three burses. On the suppression of the Society of Jesus in France these burses remained vacant. They were transferred to Paris at the petition of the Abbé Kelleher, Provisor for Munster, by an order of the parliament of Paris, dated August 23, 1774.

In 1781 the superiors of the Irish College, Paris, Rue du Cheval Vert, presented a petition to the king praying for permission to enter on possession of the grounds, buildings and contracts belonging to the Irish College at Poitiers, and to utilize the property for the purpose of liquidating debts incurred by reason of new buildings recently erected in Paris. The petitioners state that a similar favour had already been granted in the case of other British colleges. The English Jesuit college at St-Omer had been granted to the English secular clergy, and the Scotch College at Douai, which had belonged to the Scotch Jesuits, had been granted to the secular clergy of Scotland.

The petition of the Irish College in Paris was duly registered and notified to the University of Poitiers, then in the occupation of the Irish College there. The university opposed the petition, and in 1788 the question was still undecided.

We have not been able to discover that a decision was given up to the outbreak of the Revolution, and at that time the college seems to have been altogether lost to Ireland.

The Irish College, Douai

Compiled from documents belonging to the Irish College in Paris.

THE Irish College at Douai was originally a Spanish foundation. It is mentioned in Dr Lombard's work, entitled "De Hiberniæ Insula Commentarius," which was written in 1600, as already a flourishing establishment, in which many talented Irish youths were preparing by study to promote the glory of God and the exaltation of the Roman Church.* In 1604 the king of Spain bestowed on it an endowment of 5,000 florins a year. In consequence of the wars going on during that period the students suffered much, as it became difficult for them to receive means of support from Ireland.

In 1677 Douai was taken by Louis XIV, and became incorporated in the kingdom of France. At that time the royal endowment of 5,000 florins granted by the king of Spain was lost.

For some time the Douai College seems to have fallen into a state of decay. Provost MacMahon, of Cassel, in Flanders, made a foundation in 1710 for the education of students, leaving to his nephew, Dr MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher, to select the college where it should be placed. Dr MacMahon selected Paris in preference to Douai for the foundation, fearing that it might be absorbed by the liabilities of the Douai College if placed there. He adds, however, that should the college recover its prosperity, there were certain advantages to be found at Douai, inasmuch as certain small burses were

* Lombard, *De Hiberniæ Insula*, p. 137.

bestowed by competition which would be useful to a student having already a burse sufficient for his board.

In 1750 the Irish College at Douai seems to have recovered its prosperity. In that year the rector, the Rev. Patrick Naughton, afterwards Bishop of Killaloe, had new buildings erected.

In 1769 the rules were revised and approved by royal authority. They are contained in fourteen articles, from which we learn what was the form of government and what the course of studies pursued in the college.

The college was subject to the control of a board of provisors, consisting of the bishop of the diocese, of the Lieutenant-Governor, as well as the substitute of the Procurator of Douai, together with the superiors of the Irish, English and Scotch colleges in the same city.

The rector was chosen by the above-mentioned board from a list of three candidates presented by the provisors of the Lombard College in Paris.

No students were admitted except such as came to prepare for the mission in Ireland. The course of studies extended over a period of six years: two years were devoted to the study of philosophy, three to theology, and one to special preparation for pastoral work. The students attended lectures at the university. Examinations were also held in the college, the examining board consisting of the rectors of the Irish, English and Scotch colleges.

The students were usually in priests' orders, and were required to obtain the permission of the rector before going to celebrate Mass in the churches of the city or its neighbourhood.

The Rev. Luke McKernan was president of

the Irish College, Douai, in 1780. From his correspondence with Dr Plunket, of Meath, we learn that the most friendly relations existed between the English and Irish colleges. In a letter dated May 12, 1781, Dr McKernan speaks of the English College, and says, "The gentlemen superiors of that excellent and respectable establishment have been very generous to this seminary."*

The Irish College at Douai was confiscated in 1793. For a short time, in 1794, it was used as a prison, and we read in Brady's "Episcopal Succession" † that twenty-six students and six Benedictine priests were confined there until 1795. In that year the Irish College was alienated by the state. It was valued at 60,000 francs; no compensation for its loss was ever obtained.

The Irish College at Lille

Compiled from documents copied at the Archives, Lille, for the Irish College, Paris.

THE Irish College at Lille, like that of Douai, owed its origin to the munificence of the Spanish government. Its foundation was authorized by letters patent granted on September 17, 1610, by the Archduke Albert and Isabella Infanta of Spain to the Rev. Ralph Cusack.

A house to serve as a residence for students was purchased from John Morel, who became a benefactor of the college, and at the request of the Rev. John Lee of the Irish College in Paris bestowed upon it an endowment of sixty florins.

* Cogan, *Hist. of the Diocese of Meath*, Vol. III, p. 67.
† Vol. III, p. 220.

Foundations for the education of students at Lille were made by the Rev. Ralph Cusack, the Rev. Patrick Dempsey and the Rev. Bernard Molloy.

The college was governed by a rector nominated by the superiors of the Irish Capuchins, then residing in a convent at Bar-sur-Aube. It was destined for the education of students from Leinster and from Meath. Such were the geographical divisions at that time. Students from other parts of Ireland sometimes claimed admission, and contests arose. The question was ultimately referred to the decision of Urban VIII, who by a brief dated July 20, 1636, decided that the Irish College at Lille was reserved for the education of students from Leinster and Meath to the exclusion of all others.

In 1667 Lille became subject to France. Irish ecclesiastics in Paris took an interest in the Lille College. Dr Maginn, of Paris, wrote advocating its being opened to students from all the provinces of Ireland. In 1703 Dr Michael Moore wrote also interesting himself in promoting harmony between the superiors of the college and the board of administration.

From the accounts that have come down to us the condition of the students at Lille seems to have been more precarious than in the other Irish Colleges in France. In an undated document, belonging apparently to the Spanish period, we find a petition addressed to the prefect of Lille, requesting him to grant a loaf per day (pain de munition) to each of twenty-four Irish students. The endowments never equalled more than half the expense of the support of the students; the balance was made up partly by

alms collected at the church doors and partly by stipends for services rendered on the occasions of funerals. Thus on April 24, 1711, an order was made by the mayor and council of Lille, forbidding that any persons except Irish students should be employed "à prix d'argent pour porter les corps morts en terre, en cette ville, taille, et banlieue." Again on February 23, 1723, the Irish students presented a petition praying to be permitted to quest as usual at the church doors during Easter week in order to enable them to clear off their debts.

In 1766 the Archbishop of Dublin and his suffragans offered to contribute towards the support of the college, provided they received control of its administration.

The students were by rule obliged to converse in Irish on Tuesdays and Thursdays. The use of the Irish language amongst the students gave rise to a discussion not without historical interest. In 1764 the Rev. Peter Furlong was appointed rector by the Guardian of the Capuchins. An objection to the appointment was made on the ground that Father Furlong was unable to speak Irish, the habitual language of the students. The case was fully examined and the necessity of a knowledge of the Irish language in the rector discussed. The Rev. Mr Watters,* chaplain to the hospital of St Saviour, testified that in Leinster the Irish language was in general use, except in the towns, and that he himself had always heard the sermons to the people delivered in Irish. A certain Mr Dillon who had spent some time with Lee's regiment in the Irish brigade, declared that in his time two-thirds of the soldiers

* Name indistinct, may be Wall or Walsh.

spoke only Irish. Since the students of the college were destined either for the mission in Ireland or to fill the office of chaplain to the Irish troops serving in France, the board of administration decided that a person not acquainted with the Irish language was not a suitable person to preside over a college in which the Irish language was in use, and whose students should be trained to preach in Irish. The appointment of the Rev. Peter Furlong was accordingly cancelled.

The Irish students at Lille did not neglect to honour their national saints. Amongst the privileges granted to the college was that of plenary indulgence for the feast of St Patrick, a privilege renewed every seven years, and granted so late as 1778 by Pope Pius VI.

The Irish college at Lille was valued at 20,000 francs. It was confiscated and alienated by the French government during the Revolutionary period.

The history of the Lille College is not without its moral. An ancient author wrote:

> Angustam amice pauperiem pati
> Robustus acri militiâ puer
> Condiscat.*

While this principle was in honour the legions of Rome were invincible. In luxury they learned to be conquered. The students who could share the soldiers' bread are a lesson to those whose lot is cast in times when luxuries abound.

Besides the colleges above mentioned there were also Irish seminaries at Rouen and at Bourges, but with their history we are unacquainted.

* Hor. Od. lib. iii, 2.

Meagre as are these details they are not unworthy of being recorded. They show how much Ireland owes to France, as well as how resolutely Ireland persevered in her efforts to recruit her priesthood. All the Irish colleges on the continent were working in that sacred cause. How large a share in the good work was due to the colleges in France may be gathered from the following summary.

The number of students receiving clerical education abroad previous to the French Revolution was as follows:

Paris, Collège des Lombards	100
Paris, Community Rue du Cheval Vert ...	80
Nantes	80
Bordeaux	40
Douay	30
Toulouse	10
Lille	8
Total in France	348
Louvain	40
Antwerp	30
Salamanca	32
Rome	16
Lisbon	12
	478 *

The Scotch and English Colleges, Paris

It is almost an intrusion to speak of the history of the English and Scotch colleges at Paris. However, as both establishments were for a time united to the Irish College, it would hardly be fitting to pass them over unnoticed.†

* See also *Cent. Hist. of Maynooth College*, p. 696.

† See in Appendix (Document no. 12) the prospectus of the combined Irish, Scotch and English Colleges, dated 1805.

Scotch College, Paris

De Gaulle. Bellesheim, *Catholic Church in Scotland*, vol. III, pp. 328; vol. IV, p. 221, 251, 252, 408.

THE Scotch College in Paris owes its origin to a foundation made by the Bishop of Moray in 1325 for the support of four Scotch students at the University of Paris. The foundation consisted in a farm, called La Fermete, situated at Brie Comte Robert in the diocese of Paris. In 1603 Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, Scotch ambassador at the court of France, bequeathed by will a house situated in Rue des Amandiers, to serve as a residence for Scotch students. The new college was placed under the protection of the prior of the Carthusians. In 1639 the four burses of the Bishop of Moray were united to the Scotch College. In 1662 a new college was built in the Rue de la Doctrine Chrétienne, now Cardinal Lemoine, in the quartier St-Victor, and in 1672 a chapel dedicated to St Andrew was erected, the principal at the time being Rev. Robert Barclay. In 1688 royal letters patent were issued conferring on the Scotch College the rights and privileges possessed by similar colleges and incorporating it in the University of Paris. The royal letters confirm the authority of the prior of the Carthusians over the college, and declare that the principal and students must be Catholics and Scotchmen by birth.

The unhappy James II often visited the Scotch College, and entrusted to its keeping the memoirs of his life, which he had written, but which were destroyed during the French Revolution.

The Scotch College produced many distinguished men. In the cartulary of the German nation in the university of Paris the names of many Scotchmen are found as procurators. The celebrated Louis Innes was rector of the Scotch College in 1700, and was succeeded in that office by Thomas Innes, his brother, who died in 1744.

Urban VIII conferred on the college the right to present its students for ordination without dimissorials. Up to about 1718 it furnished to Scotland many efficient missioners. After that period, as we learn from the report of the pronuncio, Mgr Lercari, to the prefect of the Propaganda, Jansenism made its way into the college. During the eighteenth century many of the students entered the army, and from 1737 to 1764 the college gave no priest to the Scotch mission. In 1791 Dr Geddes, one of the vicars apostolic, came to Paris to look after the affairs of the college. The principal at the time was the Abbé Gordon. There was only one priest and one student in the college besides the principal at that date. We learn from the correspondence of the Abbé de Salamon (p. 120) that Dr Walsh, of the Lombard College, helped to render the mission of Dr Geddes to Paris successful.

The Scotch College escaped confiscation as ecclesiastical property in 1791, but was finally confiscated in 1793 and used for some time as a prison.

In 1804 it was united to the Irish College with the approval of Dr Cameron, and remained united until 1816.

Dr Walsh was administrator, and in a state-

ment published in 1814 he says: "I took charge of the Scotch section in a state of ruin, with a proven debt of 23,349 francs, and I left it with an income of 11,000 francs and its buildings repaired."

In 1810 Dr McPherson came to Paris with full powers from the vicars apostolic of Scotland to look after the affairs of the college. He gave his approval to the management of Dr Walsh. After a short stay in Paris Dr McPherson went on to Rome, where he had formerly been rector of the Scotch College.

On the separation of the colleges the Abbé Gordon, who was then seventy-five years of age, petitioned to be reinstated as rector. By the decree of Louis XVIII in 1816 Dr Farquharson, formerly superior of the Scotch College at Douai, was appointed superior. On June 8, 1817, Dr Farquharson died, and the Abbé Desjardins, a French priest, was appointed provisional administrator. In 1818 we learn from an official statement that the revenue of the college was 14,000 francs.

The property of the Scotch College at Douai which had been founded in 1559 by Mary Queen of Scots, and had belonged to the Scotch Jesuits, was granted to the secular clergy of Scotland on the suppression of the Jesuit Order in France. After the Revolution it was united to the Scotch foundations in Paris. In 1824, through the intervention of Dr Paterson, the Scotch College was freed from subjection to the Bureau of Surveillance, established in 1804 and re-established in 1818. Since that period its affairs have been in the hands of an administrator, who manages the Scotch foundations under the control of the Minister of Public Instruction.

The Scotch students make their studies in French seminaries. The college is at present let to the Institut Chevalier. The chapel is an object of interest. In the ante-chamber stands a monument of James II. There are also some mural slabs commemorating benefactors of the college, and in one of the rooms of the college are to be seen portraits of James III and other members of the Stuart family.

English College, Paris

See Brady's *Episcopal Succession,* vol. III; Sauval Fehbien, De Gaulle, and unpublished documents; *Un Couvent de Religieuses Anglaises à Paris,* par l'Abbé Cedoz, 1891.

IN the seventeenth century a house of English Benedictines was established in Paris, and was situated in the Rue St-Jacques. In 1642 the Archbishop of Paris granted to the Fathers faculties to hear the confessions of the Irish, English and Scotch resident in Paris, except during the Paschal-time, when their faculties were restricted to such as could not speak French.* A new monastery entitled St Edmund's was built about 1674. In the chapel attached to it the body of James II was interred in 1701.

Besides the Benedictine establishment, with a community of eight persons, there was at the same time a little colony of English priests residing at the Arras College in Paris, where they devoted themselves to the study of controversy. †

The English College, properly so-called, dates from the year 1677. In that year three English priests, the Revs. Edward Paston, John Betham

* Sauval, vol. I, p. 316. † Brady, vol. III, p. 89.

and Bonaventure Gifford, came to Paris from the English College, Douai. The Rev. Thomas Carre, chaplain to the English canonesses of St Augustine, took an interest in his fellow countrymen, and purchased for them a house, which was opened in 1678 under the title of St Gregory's, with the approval of the Chapter of the London district. The Rev. Thomas Carre became first superior of the college. The establishment of the English community of St Gregory's was canonically authorized by the archbishop of Paris in 1678. The English College, when fully organized, was situated in the Rue des Postes, now Rue L'Homond. Though it had not the importance of the great English college at Douai, it produced many men who served the church in England with distinction. The Rev. Anthony Meynell was one of its earliest students. Here the Rev. Henry Howard was a student about 1710, and the Rev. Charles Howard was rector of the college in 1736. Several of the vicars apostolic of England in the eighteenth century were students in St Gregory's, Paris. The Right Revs. James Smith, of the Northern District; George Witham, of the Midland; Bonaventure Gifford, of the London District; and Charles Berrington, of the Midland, were all students of the English College, Paris.*

At the Revolution the English College shared the fate of the other British establishments in Paris. After 1804 it was united to the Irish College. The administrator general, Dr Walsh, thus speaks of it in a memorandum published in 1814: "When I took charge of the English section, it had hardly any revenues, and its buildings were dilapidated. I left it with its

* Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. III.

buildings repaired and an annual income of 18,000 livres, and a credit of 7,101 with all debts paid."

During the period of the union of the colleges Father Parker, of the Benedictine community, resided in the Irish College, and gave valuable assistance to Dr Walsh, and for some time filled the office of provisional administrator. To his vigilance is due that the English Benedictine house in Rue St-Jacques was saved. When it was put up for auction, after having been confiscated, he purchased it back under another name. In 1815 there were fifteen students in the English section. After the separation of the colleges the Rev. John Bew was appointed administrator for the English College, and about the same time the Rev. Richard March was appointed superior of the Benedictine house of St Edmond's in the Faubourg St-Jacques, as well as of the establishment at Dieu le Ward in the department of La Meurthe.

At this time the English colleges in the north of France were also reorganized. The Abbé John Daniel was appointed president of the Douai College, while the Abbés Francis Tuite, John Yates and Thomas Cleghorne were by the same royal decree of January 25, 1816, appointed administrators of the English College at St-Omer. After 1816 the affairs of the English College in Paris continued to be managed by its own administrator under the control of the Minister of the Interior, and more recently under the Minister of Public Instruction. About 1870 the administrator was Mgr Searle. At present that office is held by one of the priests of St-Sulpice in Paris. English students make their

studies in seminaries in various parts of France. The English College of St Gregory has been sold in recent years to the administrators of the Ecole Ste-Geneviève, and the capital invested to the credit of the Fondations Catholiques Anglaises. The English Benedictine fathers still carry on at Douai with great success the work commenced in the seventeenth century.

APPENDIX

Document 1

Sermon for the Irish College by Bourdaloue. Preached about 1696

THE writer of this account of the Irish College, Paris, is indebted for his acquaintance with the following sermon of Bourdaloue to the Rev. Père Henri Cherot, S.J., one of the rédacteurs of the *Etudes*, a Jesuit monthly publication in Paris. In the editions of Bourdaloue's works there is no indication of the place where the sermon was preached nor of the date. But a careful examination of the sermon itself will show that it must have been preached for the Lombard College.

The preacher refers to the Irish Seminary as founded for the poor. Now the official title of the Lombard College was "Domus Charitatis B. Mariæ Virginis." He refers also to the examination of the condition of those who were admitted, to the founders and to their pious designs. Whoever will look to the rules of the Lombard College, and will take into account what Dr McGinn and Dr Kelly did to establish it, and the end they had in view, will understand how applicable the reference is to that college.

The sermon furnishes the best evidence as to

the date at which it must have been delivered. The preacher refers to a prince who had lost three crowns, and to an usurper occupying the throne of the legitimate prince. This is a clear allusion to the victory of the Prince of Orange over James II of England, and points to a date later than 1691. The Rev. Père Griselle, S.J., professor at the Catholic Institute of Lille, and author of Critical Studies on the Sermons of Bourdaloue, conjectures the year 1696 as the probable date. All the references in the sermon to the banishment of bishops and of missioners from Ireland, and the prohibition against priests returning to that country, are but the enumeration of what were at that date historical facts. Moreover we know that a large number of Irish ecclesiastics took refuge in Paris about that time, and that the Holy See sent liberal alms for their support, and that the Lombard College shared in the bounty of the Holy Father. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that an appeal may have been made in Paris for its support about the same time.

The sermon itself bears upon it the stamp of the genius of Bourdaloue. He adds argument to argument to move his audience, which consisted of charitable ladies, to liberality, mingling the while salutary admonitions as to their own spiritual condition. His parallel between the Irish priests exiled for the faith and the martyrs of the primitive church is a masterpiece.

And it is not from scripture and ecclesiastical history alone that he draws his arguments. He refers to events of the day; and Père Griselle remarks that it is interesting to see Bourdaloue suggest to the ladies whom he addresses to

despoil themselves of their jewels, and to imitate the eagerness with which the women of Holland contributed towards the armaments of the Prince of Orange in 1688.

The sermon is valuable too as a historical document. It bears testimony to the reputation, to the discipline and to the studies of the Irish students in the seventeenth century.

The writer feels that in expressing his thanks to Père Cherot and Père Griselle for having brought Bourdaloue's sermon for the Irish College under his notice, he is expressing what will be the feelings of all students of the college when they have read it.

The sermon is to be found in the original edition of Bourdaloue's works, tom. 1er des Exhortations (Paris, 1721), page 162-187; and in Vivés' edition (Paris, 1890), vol. iv, page 45.

"Zelus domus tuæ comedit me" (Ps. lxviii, 10).
"The zeal of Thy house hath eaten me up."

It is a prophet who speaks thus, mesdames, and, though not inspired like him, I make bold to affirm that you ought to be animated with the same zeal. It was the honour of the house of God that touched him; and what should affect you more than the needs of this Seminary, wherein God dwells in a manner so much the more special as it is the abode of his ministers and their refuge in the tribulations with which they are afflicted? They feel the effects of them but too keenly; and if charity does not interest itself in their behalf and for their relief they can only look forward in the future to total ruin and entire abandonment. Will you allow this house of God to come to nought? Must a work so holily

undertaken be suddenly broken off for want of means, whilst it is in your power to sustain, advance and perfect it? No, mesdames, you will not abandon it. The zeal with which the prophet was inflamed will be enkindled or stirred up in your hearts; and in order to excite it I purpose to lay before you two considerations: Who those are whom you are called upon to assist here; this shall be the first point. Why you ought to assist them; this shall form the second point. God grant that you go forth from this assembly as inflamed with zeal for the house of the Lord as was that holy king who cried out in the transport of his soul: "Zelus domus tuæ comedit me." God grant that instead of limiting yourselves to desires or to words you prove the sincerity and solidity of your zeal by the prompt and constant practice of it. Such is the whole plan and purpose of this exhortation.

First Part

It is true, mesdames, and it is a maxim with which you are well acquainted, that charity in order to be Christian must be universal, and do good as far as in it lies to all the world. But without derogating in any way from this great principle, or weakening it, we must after all admit that some amongst the poor are more worthy of our care than others, and that you are, consequently, more bound to relieve them. Now such are the poor of whom I speak. For who are they? Learn, if you please, to know them, and pay attention to me.

They are real poor, associated as poor, and assembled in a community specially formed for the poor, to which they are admitted only after

an examination of their persons, of their state, and particularly of their poverty, who, consequently, do not deceive by feigned and apparent miseries, and in preferring whom you cannot be mistaken.

I know that charity is not distrustful and suspicious, I know that on the contrary it ought to be inclined to believe—"omnia credit" (1 Cor. xiii, 5)—that it should rather run the risk of being deceived in assisting the neighbour than of failing in the least of its obligations; but, nevertheless, there is a mean to be observed and extremes to be avoided. It ought to be enlightened, wise, circumspect, in order to prefer the true poor to those who are not such, the more poor to those who are less so; the certain and manifest poor to those who are open to suspicion and to doubt. Too ready a credulity may degenerate into imprudence, just as extreme and too vigilant distrust would often be inhumanity and harshness. But, mesdames, you have neither of these two dangers to fear in the charity which you shall exercise towards this house. You shall find therein poor who are sincere, and who have been put to the test. All that they shall receive from you and all you will place in their hands shall be well employed, because it shall be employed with intelligence. I might then stop here, and confine myself precisely to the general motive of the precept of almsgiving and of the strict command which God lays upon you to help the needy in his necessity; a command so much the more absolute and so much the less open to excuses and pretexts the more that indigence is known and the more the proofs you have of it are evident.

But there is something here, mesdames, more special, and which ought to touch you more. They are not merely real poor; they are holy poor, poor who lead a life of regularity, who serve God, who edify the public, who do not give scandal by a disorderly poverty, with whom licence and libertinism do not hold the place of riches; poor who observe an exact discipline, who join to the poverty to which their condition reduces them subjection of mind, obedience to their superior, purity of morals, and perfect regularity; poor who lead a life the most austere, and practise all the mortification and all the perfection of Christianity to such a degree that this seminary may be regarded as a model of evangelical poverty—a poverty satisfied with what is strictly necessary, a poverty the professed enemy of all that can flatter the senses and in the least foster softness and over-tenderness for the body. It is therefore a poverty more in conformity with that of the Saviour, more spiritual, more interior, more like the poverty which Jesus Christ declared blessed, and to which the kingdom of heaven belongs. "Beati pauperes spiritu" (Matt. v, 3).

There are poor in whom poverty is by no means a virtue because it is not in their heart, in which, on the contrary there reigns cupidity, avarice, injustice, a desire almost insatiable of hoarding up riches, by any means, and at any cost whatever. But the poverty we refer to is limited to what is necessary for subsistence, desires nothing more, and entertains neither views nor designs, nor intrigues nor sentiments capable of corrupting in any way or destroying its innocence. Hence it is a poverty worthy of

respect. Poverty of itself inspires compassion, without inspiring respect; far from elevating the persons on whom it falls, and whom it afflicts by those temporal calamities, it lowers, vilifies and degrades them in the eyes of men; but the poverty which is here presented to your view, obscure and despoiled though it is, should attract respect and not compassion. If we are Christians we should rather envy it, or at least we cannot refuse it the honour which is due to it, and the eulogium it deserves, but still less can we forget and abandon it.

These are poor who have chosen Jesus Christ and whom Jesus Christ has chosen. For although, speaking in general, God has chosen the poor to enrich them with His grace and to make them heirs of His heavenly kingdom—"Nonne Deus elegit pauperes in hoc mundo, divites in fide, et hæredes regni" (St Jas. ii, 7)—He has not chosen them all equally, and they have not all equally chosen Him. There are some whom He rejects and reproves because they are guilty; there are some on whom he has no special designs, and whom He destines to nothing else in this world than to occupy therein the lowest rank which His providence has marked out for them. But with these it is not thus. They are poor of whom God has made special choice; poor whom He has marked out among the poor, by calling them to Himself and predestining them to His service by a vocation peculiar to themselves; poor who, in corresponding with that vocation, have themselves made choice of God, and for that purpose have embraced the ecclesiastical state, and have thereby consecrated their poverty and person to the ministry of the altar. There

is no poor man who is not entitled to say, like the prophet: "Dominus pars hæreditatis meæ" (Ps. xv, 5)—"The Lord is my portion and my inheritance." But who can say so by a stronger title than those poor who have taken on this point the most solemn engagement?

It belongs then to you, mesdames, to take care that this title does not fail them, for God commits the care of it to you, and you cannot neglect it without contravening His orders. In the old Law there were lands—cities even—assigned to the Levites; but as for these Levites of the law of grace, if I may so call them, God wills that they should have nothing for maintenance and support but your charity. Others have benefices, pensions, revenues; these have no revenues, no pensions, no benefices but your liberality, which they will never abuse. If these alms, these liberalities, these sources are dried up, what shall they do—to whom shall they address themselves? And may they not complain to God that He has abandoned them? that He had chosen them to be to them everything, and attach them to Himself alone; and that with this view they have renounced all human affairs, and have desired to be occupied only with Him; that they have separated themselves from the world, and have retired into this seminary relying on His providence and confiding in Him; but that that providence furnishes them with nothing—that they remain empty-handed, without means, without assistance? Complaints which would fall down on you, mesdames, and of which you would expose yourselves to bear one day the penalty.

What shall I say more? Ah, behold what

ought to make a new and deeper impression on your hearts! They are poor, who are strangers banished from their fatherland through hatred of their religion and their faith; poor who are persecuted for the cause of God; poor who are exiled from the land of their birth, only because they are priests or are preparing to become priests; because they are Catholics and defend the interests of the Church. In the first centuries of Christianity they would have been ranked in the number of the martyrs and confessors of Jesus Christ; for in the time of the persecutions it was a species of martyrdom to be exiled for the faith, to be a prisoner and a captive for the faith. Now such is the state and situation of these poor. The faith they profess has raised up for them as many enemies as error has formed heretics amongst nations indocile and rebellious to the light. They have endured for the faith the most rigorous treatment: "Angustiati, afflicti" (Heb. xi, 37). They have been proscribed, prosecuted, imprisoned—"insuper et vincula et carceres." They have been obliged to conceal themselves in deserts and in caverns; and it is only after experiencing a thousand dangers that they have been able to reach us and find a refuge in this kingdom—"in solitudinibus errantes, in montibus, in cavernis terræ" (Ib. 28).

But what sort of refuge will they find here if they cannot subsist? What will it avail them to have escaped the weapons of their persecutors and the attacks of heresy, if we leave them to languish in misery in the midst of Catholicism? Understand, mesdames, understand clearly that there is question here not alone of Christian charity and mercy, which oblige you to succour

the poor, but there is question of your religion, which engages you by an obligation still more inviolable to succour the poor who are poor only because their constancy in maintaining its glory has reduced them to this poverty. When the martyrs of old were cast into prison the whole body of the faithful made an effort to solace them. They went to visit them in their prison, they devised a thousand means to alleviate their captivity and their sufferings; for that end they exposed themselves to martyrdom, so much did they honour them and such was the share they took in their necessities. There is now no longer the same danger; you can assist without hindrance these ministers of the living God, these generous confessors of the faith; and if you have yet any zeal for that Church of which you are children like them, how dear, how venerable should be to you men who are prepared to make for her the sacrifice of their blood, after having sacrificed for her their peace and all their temporal hopes!

They are poor towards whom you will practise at once corporal and spiritual almsgiving; that is to say, towards whom you will practise all the perfection of Christian chariry. For take notice, I pray you, charity, which is the queen of virtues, does not pay attention merely to the corporal wants of the neighbour, and I may affirm that those necessities which regard the present life are the least object of its attention and care. To contribute to the instruction, education and sanctification of the neighbour, to procure for him the succours of salvation, and not of his own salvation only, but the salvation of others, for which he may labour; such is the

principal object of charity. Towards the wandering poor one exercises only that common charity which relieves the body. It is true God commands and recompenses it, but after all it is only a charity of a lower order, and much inferior to that which reaches the soul, since the soul is infinitely more noble than the body. In hospitals both are combined, and to the relief of the body is joined the guidance of the soul; but after all, the immediate and direct end of those houses of charity, of those public infirmaries, if I may use the expression, is the health of the body. All that concerns the soul is only accessory, whereas here corporal alms is given only with a view to spiritual alms, with a view to confirm apostolic men in their attachment to the true faith, and to associate to them zealous workmen capable of assisting them in their holy undertakings.

In fine, mesdames, they are poor who by their prayers will repay a hundredfold what they shall have received from you, and who will unceasingly send up to the throne of God on your behalf the most earnest and the most powerful prayers, two things which must not be separated, and which you ought to note well—prayers the most sincere and fervent, prayers the most efficacious and powerful with God. For they are not of the number of those gross and ill-disposed poor, such as we see in the world, who think only of themselves, and from whom you can expect no return. They are not of the number of those poor altogether material, who feel only their miseries, without being touched by their obligations towards the rich, or having a sentiment of them. They are not of the number of those

libertine poor who often do not practise the exercises of religion, and hardly ever pray for themselves, much less for their benefactors. They are poor who are grateful; poor sensible of benefits; poor who through Christianity and piety, still more than through natural gratitude, will consider themselves obliged to hold up their hands and offer their sacrifices to heaven for you.

Yes, mesdames, whilst you are in the tumult and agitation of the world, recollected before God they will implore His mercy for you, and to obtain it they will represent to Him your alms and your charities; whilst you are in the midst of a thousand dangers, and in frequent occasions of falling and being lost, prostrate at the foot of the altar, they will ask of God graces of salvation for you, graces the most powerful and the most precious. While you are perhaps strayed from the ways of God and in the disorder of sin, humbled before the Lord they will ask of Him the grace of conversion for you; they will stay the strokes of His justice and will incline Him to cast upon you a look of favour. For if their prayers are sincere and fervent they will be no less efficacious nor less powerful.

We know how powerful are the prayers of the poor. We know, and the scripture teaches us, that God hearkens even to their desires. "Desiderium pauperum exaudivit Dominus" (Ps. ix, 17). But there are poor, nevertheless, more capable of obtaining favours, and that by reason of their personal merits and their sanctity. "When the poor man prays," says St Augustine, "if he be a sinner, it is not he whom God hears on behalf of the rich, but it is the alms

of the rich man himself, which, deposited as a treasure in the bosom of the poor, makes itself heard and has a language of its own to express itself. Whereas, if he be a just man, if he be a man of God, a man pleasing to God, united to God, it is not the alms alone that touches the heart of God, but the poor man and the alms both together; so that God is doubly urged to open and pour forth His treasures. What then ought you not to expect from the intercession and the prayers of the poor, who to-day lay their wants before you? By the commerce of almsgiving you will enter into partnership in all the spiritual goods which they shall acquire in their retreat, as they shall enter into partnership in the temporal goods which you possess in the world. They are of the number of those faithful servants of God who, according to the express teaching of St Paul, will supply your poverty as you will supply their indigence. It is necessary, said the great Apostle, writing to the Corinthians and recommending to them mercy and charity, it is necessary that your abundance supply the want of your brethren, in order that in your want you may yourselves be supplied by their abundance. The Master of the nations supposed that the poor were rich in merits and in virtues before God; therefore this rule cannot be applied to all poor, but only to those who sanctify themselves by poverty, to those who are poor in heart and spirit, to those who live in a perfect detachment from the goods of the world; and that same Doctor of the Gentiles supposed on the other hand that the rich are commonly very poor in good works and in sanctity; whence he concluded

that, by a communication mutual and useful to both, they should mutually succour and help each other.

Now behold, mesdames, the advantageous terms which God offers you, or which I offer you in His name. As much as these poor for whom I appeal are poor according to the world, in so much are they rich according to God, and in so much can they enrich you, not with fleeting and perishable goods, but with those which are eternal and incorruptible. Such are the friends you ought to make according to the words of the gospel, and whom you ought, so to speak, to purchase at the cost of their weight in gold. "Facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis" (Luke xvi); friends pleasing to God, beloved by God, specially elected by God; friends who in their prayers, in their austerities and mortifications, will remember you, and will not cease to intercede for you; friends who, like angels on earth, will present themselves before the throne of the Most High, nay more, who, clothed with the most sacred character and celebrating the tremendous mystery of our altars, will immolate for the salvation of your souls the spotless Lamb and the Victim of propitiation. Ah, mesdames, when your alms and their humble prayers shall be united to the Blood of that divine Lamb, shall heaven remain shut? What more shall be required to shelter you against its thunders and to draw down on you all its blessings? Hence you see who they are whom you are called upon to assist. I am about to point out to you more particularly why you ought to assist them. This is the second point.

Second Part

YOU can hardly be ignorant, mesdames, of the deplorable state to which a kingdom hitherto so faithful to the Church and so Catholic has been reduced. Error has prevailed not by force of argument, but by force of arms. Heresy, after having laid waste England and Scotland, to complete its so-called triumphs has penetrated and carried its ravages into Ireland. No priest is permitted to enter that country, all the bishops are driven out, all the missionaries are exiled. If a few parish priests are still tolerated, it is merely until they die, and without hope of successors. Behold then the flock of Jesus Christ abandoned, his inheritance destroyed; behold religion extinguished in that land so long enlightened by the purest light of faith, unless God in His loving providence deign to provide for it. Now He does provide for it by means of this seminary, for which you are called on to contribute.

For what is proposed to be done in this seminary? To educate persons capable of serving one day that afflicted Church and repairing its ruins, who despite the injustice of the laws, and the rigour of decrees, shall go to take the place of the pastors whom it shall have lost, and of whom it is on the point of being entirely deprived; who for that purpose shall dare to risk their liberty and their life; whom no danger, no fear shall stay; men who shall console, reassure, uphold the flock not yet entirely dispersed, but on the point of being dispersed; who shall strengthen the weak in the

faith, bring back those whom the storm has carried away; who shall inspire with new courage those whom persecution has been powerless to shake. For as soon as this support shall fail, what can one expect, what reliance can be placed on a people, intimidated, harassed and disconcerted? Such, I say, was the purpose the zealous founders of this house marked out for themselves.

They had in view to establish a seminary planned and formed according to the mind of the Council of Trent, that is to say of the council which of all councils applied itself with most care to the reformation of the clergy, which has given us on that head the most solid and the most holy rules; and in particular that which regards the erection of seminaries, a design which could not have been other than the work of the Spirit of God; of that Spirit which disposes all things with as much power as with sweetness and wisdom. Animated by a true zeal for the glory of God, zealous ministers have undertaken to accomplish to the letter, and to follow out, point by point, all that the fathers of the council have prescribed. This they have undertaken, and it is being happily carried out in this holy community. In it young men are being trained like young plants in the house of God; young men who have already sufficient intelligence to understand their state and its duties, but yet not sufficient practice and experience to exercise its functions. In it are being formed young clerics, whose merit is being tried, their good and bad qualities discovered, in order to develop the former and cut off and correct the latter, whose dispositions, genius, capacity, talent, are being

studied in order to apply each to that for which he is fitted, and to apportion their employments wisely amongst them. In it young ecclesiastics are being formed to serve the Church in the spirit of humility, poverty, patience and self-denial. Persons of rank enter the Church to advance and enrich themselves, to possess its honours, to enjoy its revenues, and according to the false opinion of the world by which they allow themselves to be only too much prejudiced, they would be ashamed to be ecclesiastics, and to have no other title to distinguish them. But those of whom we speak are given to understand that the greatest honour they can aspire to is to render to the Church the services she demands of them, and that in serving her they ought to have no other intention, no other ambition; that they ought to serve her for sake of the fruits she may derive from their services, and not for the temporal advantages to be hoped for from them, and that far from wishing to profit by her spoils, they should despoil themselves, or at least consent to be despoiled of all things. In a regular course of studies they are taught all necessary knowledge; human and divine science, nothing is omitted, nothing escapes their application, for zeal must be enlightened, and without the light of knowledge it can neither guide itself nor others. Here, by the habitual and daily practice of prayer they are instructed in the ways of God, and in the most secret mysteries of the interior life; here they are nourished by useful reading, from which they derive salutary instruction; here they are prepared to be one day skilled directors of souls. In fine, here by anticipation, and by special exercises, they undergo

a kind of apprenticeship in the various duties of the ministry in which they shall afterwards be employed; they accustom themselves to chant and to perform all the ceremonies of the divine office, to teach, to catechise, to exhort, to preach. What a resource for that Church to which they are destined! and without that resource into what decadence it will fall, and what can be hoped for from so many sheep delivered up to the power and fury of the ravening wolf?

But how is it possible, mesdames, to procure them this succour and to continue it if charity does not contribute thereto? How shall this house subsist without resources, and what resources has it at present but Providence and the alms of the faithful? To you then a whole church, formerly so flourishing but now plunged in affliction and overwhelmed beneath the oppression of its enemies, appeals. To you an infinite number of Catholics stretch out their hands; on you they found all their hopes. It is related in the Acts of the Apostles that St Paul saw in a dream a man of Macedonia—it was the angel guardian of that province—inviting him to come thither to announce the gospel. "Transiens in Macedoniam adjuva nos" (Acts xvi, 9, 10). "Help us," he said; "think of us." After this vision, adds the sacred historian, Paul delayed not to set out: "Immediately we sought to go into Macedonia, being assured that God called us to preach the gospel to them" (Acts, ibid.) "Ut autem visum vidit, statim quæsivimus profiscisci in Macedoniam, certi facti quod vocâsset nos Deus, evangelizare eis." It is not the angel guardian of Ireland that speaks to you here, mesdames, but it is the minister of the Lord sent

by Him to recommend to you the dearest portion of His flock. It is not for idolaters and infidels that I come to plead; it is not for schismatics and heretics; it is for children of the same Church as yourselves, it is for your brethren. I do not ask you to run after those wandering sheep, nor to go to seek them in the mountains. I do not say to you: "Transiens adjuva nos"—Cross the seas; make haste to bring us the consolation we hope for. And were I to speak thus, the same zeal which inflamed the master of the gentiles and which urged him on so strongly should dispose you to undertake the most painful journeys; and though held back by just motives, by reasons of becomingness and of what befits your state, at least in the sentiments of your heart and in desire you should be prepared to overcome, if necessary, every obstacle, and to endure, in spite of your weakness, all the fatigues which it would be necessary to undergo. But so much is not required of you, and here is precisely the limit to which we confine ourselves. *Adjuva nos*—do by others what you cannot do by yourselves. Now this you shall do by furnishing by your liberality wherewith to assemble together worthy ministers—wherewith to feed, to clothe them; to send them as a holy army to combat for the Church, and to accomplish by the efficacy of the word of God what you shall have commenced by your charities.

But one cannot provide for everything. This is what you say, mesdames, and this is the specious language on which people rely too much in the world; but listen to what I have to say in reply. For I maintain that there is

nothing for which Christian charity cannot provide when it acts in the spirit of faith and is seconded by confidence in God. This faith and confidence in God render everything possible. With these one can accomplish miracles; and this is verified every day, especially in what concerns almsgiving. Have confidence in God, and there will be no opportunity of practising charity which you will not embrace. What today you believed beyond your power will become practicable and perhaps easy. But I go farther, and I maintain that they who rely on this excuse are those precisely who should least allege it. Why? Because they are ordinarily those who practise works of mercy least; those who give least to the poor; those who, possessed by the world and filled with its maxims, pay least attention to and have least zeal for the relief of their neighbour, and consequently those who far from being justified by the imaginary impossibility of providing for everything, should blush and be confounded that they contribute to and provide for nothing. I maintain that this excuse would cease if there were question of anything else but charity and almsgiving—if there were question of providing for your amusements and your gambling, of providing for your luxury and your pomp. But for these things people restrict themselves in other matters. Yes, mesdames, people restrict themselves for that, and why not restrict themselves also for one of the most important works, which is that which I propose to you?

You know what took place amongst the Israelites while Moses was on the mountain conversing with God, when the idea occurred to

them of making a golden calf and adoring it. What eagerness, what ardour on the part of the people! There was not one who did not co-operate in that detestable design, and all the women to have a share therein parted with their most precious ornaments. Behold what the spirit of idolatry inspired them to do, and what with greater reason the spirit of religion should inspire you to do. But let us not go back so far; let us not go beyond the times in which we live and the present affairs. You know by what a sad revolution three crowns have been wrested from one of the most sainted and most declared protectors of the Church. Providence of my God! you have permitted this by one of those impenetrable designs which all the reason of man cannot fathom. But however that may be, you know, mesdames, what has been, I will not say the contributions, but the lavishness of the heretical party in order to stir up a war in which justice has succumbed, in which all rights have been violated, in which the usurper has dethroned the lawful prince, and in which the Church by the fall of that prince has lost the fairest hopes! What then? By this example—if it is, properly speaking, an example and not a subject of horror—at this sight do you not feel yourselves urged by a pious and generous emulation? What! Heresy will have spared nothing against the faith which you profess; it will have laboured with all its power to stay its progress and to destroy it; and you to re-establish it, to save at least its ruins, will make no sacrifice! Everything will be painful to you, everything will appear to exceed your strength. On this point I refer you to the testi-

mony of that faith which is still sufficiently in your hearts to make itself heard. List its voice, to its cries, to its reproaches. Wh I say, mesdames? Be ever more and alive to its interests, as I must believe you been up to the present, and as you still are, for its cause and for its glory in this world it will act in your defence before the tribu God, and will raise you up in eternity t mortal glory, which I wish you.

Document 2.

Copied in the Vatican Archives by Rev. Patrick Moran, D.D. (now Cardinal), in 1865, and presented to the Irish College, Paris

OMNIBUS ad quos præsens instrumentum pervenerit

Nos infrascripti Præsules Regni Hiberniæ salutem in Domino precamur.

Quia grave onus animarum curæ nos in dies magis magisque premit, considerantes innumera pericula quæ nos circumstant, in illa nostra sollicitudine cum fructu ædificationis proximorum administranda, et simul attendentes quam multa nostris ovibus naufragia immineant, non solum a communi adversario professionis orthodoxæ, verum etiam ab ipsis fidei domesticis, sive ignaris nostrarum rerum, sive turbulentis, sive etiam subdolis operariis, et in hac mole difficultatum, sub qua gementes incurvamur, veluti fulchris quibusdam et sustentaculis erigimur ope et præsidio collegiorum nostrorum, quæ in Catholicis regionibus transmarinis foventur munificentia et charitate piorum Benefactorum. Inter alia vero quæ obtinemus profugæ nostræ gentis refugia, quia Seminarium nostrum Parisiense multos nobis hactenus suppeditavit insignes operarios, virtute, doctrina, zelo animarum salutis præpollentes, incredibile est quanto nobis dolori et damno, adeoque Ecclesiæ et Reipublicæ nostræ detrimento foret, si de statu et incolumitate illius periclitaretur, sive id ex insectatione cujuscumque e gente nostra obtrectatoris (quod aliquando factum aut attentatum audivimus), sive ex neglectu, aut subtractione subventionis a Christi fidelibus exhiberi solitæ in tam pii et fructuosi operis consummationem, sive undecumque refrigescente charitate provenerit. Idcirco, nos infrascripti Antistites Catholici in hoc Regno uniti, satis

superque conscii maximæ utilitatis hujusque perceptæ ex illo seminario, et præscii plurimorum incommodorum quæ nobis ipsis sub jugo oneris nostri sudantibus, et toti Catholicæ apud nos communitati ex illius ruina aut desitione obtingerent, quanta possumus instantiâ commendamus omnibus et singulis Proceribus, tam ecclesiasticis quam sæcularibus, ceterisque populis Catholicis, ac præsertim inclitissimæ civitati Parisiensi, necnon Universitati ibidem præcellentissimæ, adeoque illustri Collegio Sorbonico et Facultati Theologicæ, et Artium Facultati, aliisque piis hominibus quos tangit Christianæ pietatis zelus, ut seminarium ipsum nationis Hibernorum, quod tot annis in illa urbe cum tantæ frugis incremento* ac munificentia fovere, tueri, conservare, augere, et ipsius superiorem seu Præsidem R. D. Thomam Messingham, virum spectatæ integritatis et fidei, cujus summo labore, sedulitate, industria et prudentia regebatur hactenus, et nunc regitur cum magna laude ipsius et totius patriæ nostræ commodo similiter velint in suam tutelam suscipere, eumque animare sua benignitate et benevolentia ut tam pie susceptum opus regiminis illius seminarii pergat constanter exequi, nostrisque necessitatibus subvenire, per bonorum operariorum continuam subministrationem, prout in singulas Provincias hujus Regni antehac missi inde, venerunt probi pastores et co-operatores, qui nobis opitulantur in hac animarum vindemia pro honore Dei et Matris Ecclesiæ apud nos afflictissimæ solatio.

In quorum fidem, etc., etc.

Datum 4to Septembris anno 1624.†

DAVID, Ossoriensis Epûs vice-primas totius Hiberniæ.
MAURITIUS, Imolacen, Epûs.
THOMAS, Midensis.
RICHARDUS, Epûs Limericen.
MALACHIAS QUÆLEUS, vicarius apost^{us} Laonensis.

* A word seems wanting in the manuscript here.

† The signatories are the Most Revv. David Roothe, Ossory, Maurice O'Hurley, Emly, Thomas Dease, Meath, Richard Arthur, Limerick, Malachy Queely, vic. apost. Killaloe.

Document 3

Rules of the Irish Seminary, Paris, A.D. 1626*

REGULÆ Seminarii Hibernorum Parisiensis, piorum eleemosynis sustentati, ad conservandam et propagandam fidem Catholicam in Regno Hiberniæ; ac archiepiscopatu Parisiensi, et ejus consilio visæ et approbatæ.

Ut seminarium hoc dignos producat fructus, studiis jungatur pietas, nam absque hâc illa magis inflant quam ædificant; at si utrimque uniantur, bonum facient unguentum ad cujus odorem current populi, opera verbis consentire videntes, ac inde Deum glorificantes.

Nullus velut alumnus in hoc seminario admittatur absque Ordinarii sui, vel Vicarii Apostolici Generalis litteris testimonialibus, de natalibus, ætate, vita, moribus, et qui, si non sacerdos est, non promiserit se futurum sacerdotem, et in Hiberniam rediturum cum id judicaverit idoneum seminarii moderator, et studiorum præfectus, sitque hic reditus cum bona veniâ et benedictione Reverendissimi Parisiensis archiepiscopi seu ejus vicarii generalis.

Nullus ad ordines suscipiendos accedere præsumat absque ordinarii sui, vel vicarii apostolici seu generalis litteris dimissoriis et patrimonii seu beneficii titulo, nisi seminarium speciale habeat a Papâ privilegium, quo prædictorum defectui suppleri possit.

Omnes in hoc seminario admissi, sive alumni sive convictores, vel ante, vel etiam statim post eorum admissionem, totius vitæ præteritæ generalem instituant confessionem, et deinde singulis mensibus confiteantur.

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* Copied from *Sauval,* vol. III, Documents, pp. 166-168.

Sint semper in seminario duo ad minimum confessarii, legitime approbati, et requisitam habentes jurisdictionem ad audiendas confessiones seminaristarum, et aliorum Hibernorum qui confiteri volent.

Sacerdotes missas celebrent loco et tempore a seminarii moderatore designatis, stipendiaque a fidelibus accepta, eidem moderatori in communes usus conferenda tradant.

Unus sit sacerdos ad sacrum in sacello seminarii quotidie, hora sexta matutina faciendum, cui omnes juvenes in seminario degentes et servi intersint; hoc autem sacrum semper sit de tempore, quando Missæ expresse designatæ et notatæ sunt; aliis vero temporibus sit de Trinitate, et aliis votivis in missali assignatis, appliceturque pro exultatione sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ, et extirpatione hæresis, pro pace inter principes Christianos, pro benefactoribus vivis et defunctis Seminarii, et pro felici statu et progressu Seminarii.

Omnes sacerdotes et alumni primo die Lunæ cujuscumque mensis hora quinta vespertina conveniant, et simul recitent officium Defunctorum, cum Laudibus et orationibus, pro amicis et benefactoribus Seminarii defunctis; hora quinta matutina præcise, et hora octava vespertina omnes accedant ad preces communes quæ divisæ sunt in mentalem et actualem. Norma vero qua mentalis peragi debeat, a Præfecto statuatur, Præfectusque in hoc genere orationis rationem quærat a Seminaristis.

Sit designatus unus Sacerdos qui diebus Dominicis horâ sesquiseptima vespertina, vel alia a moderatore designata, juvenes in catechismo, aliisque ad pietatem spectantibus erudiat cui exercitio omnes adsint.

Sit etiam unus sacerdos, et unus juvenis simul per vices trimestrales constituti qui sacello attendant illudque cum vasis et altaris ornamentis munda et nitida teneant.

Diebus Dominicis et Festis solemnioribus (iis exceptis quibus in Seminario habetur concio) omnes in Seminario degentes simul aliquam ecclesiam adeant concionem audituri. Pari modo cum itur ad classes,

omnes ejusdem classis simul et gregatim procedant; iisdem etiam diebus festis, hora quinta vespertina, Sacerdotes omnes conveniant Matutinum cum Laudibus in Seminarii sacello recitaturi. Vesperas, autem, aliasque Horas privatim pro sua quisque opportunitate dicat.

In hoc Seminario non recipiantur plures quam qui commode ac decenter in omnibus necessariis sustentari possint; in horum autem receptione nulla partialitas, aut Provinciarum acceptio fiat, sed omnes Hiberni, ex cujuscumque sint Regni parte et ex quacumque Provincia, qui supradictas conditiones habebunt et se tempore opportuno offerent, indifferenter recipiantur.

Quilibet in Seminarium tanquam alumni admissi per aliquot menses juxta moderatoris judicium linguæ Gallicæ sedulo incumbant, omnesque in Seminario degentes Latine vel Gallice intra Seminarii limites loquantur. Seminarii moderator singulis annis circa festum Sancti Remigii omnium Seminaristarum capacitatem et profectum examinet, eosque iis studiis applicet ad quæ judicabuntur aptiores.

Finitis humaniorum litterarum studiis ad Philosophiam non admittantur, qui tardioris esse ingenii reperientur; sed Sacræ Scripturæ lectioni, casibus conscientiæ et controversiis applicentur; parique modo agendum cum iis qui peracto Philosophiæ curriculo, subtilis et profundi non reperiantur ingenii. In his autem Sacræ Scripturæ, casuum conscientiæ et controversiarum studiis duos integros annos cum dimidio sufficiet insumere. Qui autem felicioris invenientur ingenii duos annos in Philosophia et tres cum dimidio in Theologia et non ultra dare operam permittantur.

Singulis quoque annis totum hoc Seminarium tam in capite quam in membris visitandum est, ab uno aut duobus ab archiepiscopo Parisiensi designando aut designandis, et si expedire noverit moderator ut amplius visitetur, visitabitur.

Seminaristarum unus sit a Seminarii moderatore designatus, qui præsideat theologicis speculativis

practicis et controversistis disputationibus. Speculativæ disputationes theologicæ habeantur, singulis diebus Dominicis, exceptis solemnioribus, ab hora sesquitertia ad quintam. Practicæ vero, quolibet die Lunæ, Martis, et Mercurii, a sesquiduodecima ad sesquiprimam pomeridianam, et controversistæ quolibet die Veneris, et Sabbati, per unam horam, modo proxime dicto.

Alter sit etiam designatus qui philosophicis præsit disputationibus, quæ habebuntur qualibet die Jovis ab horâ sesquiduodecima ad sesquisecundam nisi festum occurrat, quia tunc hæc hora mutanda in illam quæ theologicis speculativis disputationibus assignata sit. Seminarii autem moderator curet ut omnes theologi theologicis, et philosophi philosophicis disputationibus intersint, singuli suum munus rite et diligenter obeant, quod ut fiat, ipsum frequenter adesse juvat; methodum et ordinem in disputationibus observandum penes Præfectum erit constituere.

Refectionum temporibus, sacræ Scripturæ unum legatur caput, tum aliquod de libro pio, aut vita alicujus sancti, quæ lectio ad finem refectionis durabit, idque tam in prandio, quam in cœnâ aut collatione, in diebus jejuniorum. Factis vero refectionibus, moderator ac spiritualium Præfectus per modum recreationis examinet quos voluerit de Seminaristis; videatque quem fructum ex mensali lectione perceperint, tum aliquas historias pias aut utiles narret, vel ab aliis narrari curet.

Feriâ sexta cujuslibet hebdomadæ, (iis exceptis quæ inter Pascham et Pentecostem occurrunt, ac inter Natalem et Epiphaniam, aut quæ sequitur jejunium in Sabbato), ob Dominicæ Passionis memoriam omnes, exceptis junioribus et ægrotis, a cœna abstineant.

Duo semper sint Lectores hebdomadarii per vices, quorum unus temporibus refectionum legat, alter mensis inserviat, horum alteruter, singulis diebus, hora sesquiquarta matutinâ campanam pulset, omnes excitet, lumen ad singula cubicula deferat, et horâ quintâ præcise, aut paulo ante campanulam pulset ad preces, et hora nona vespertinâ singulorum lucernas extingui curet, qua hora

omnes ad cubitum sese accingant, brevi conscientiæ examine præmisso. Ab hoc autem munere nullus exceptus erit, Moderatore et Præfecto exceptis.

Quotidie mane antequam ad classes accedant, Seminaristæ sua cubicula mundent et lectos sternant. Hora undecima matutinâ prandendum, et hora sexta vespertina præcise, tam hyeme quam æstate cœnandum erit. In jejuniorum vero diebus hora duodecima mane et septima sero.

Nullus extraneus ad cubicula seminaristarum admittetur, sed maneat vel in areâ vel in aula donec servus accerset quem alloqui desiderat.

Nemo quæ in Seminario aguntur externis referat. Nemo refectionum horis absque moderatoris licentia absit, vel alibi extra Seminarium prandere, vinare, aut cubare præsumat.

Nemo alienum cubiculum tempore studii ingrediatur, nemo tabernas aut lusoria frequentet, et nemo publicis inhonestis scenis intersit, nemo rixas excitet aut foveat, nemo sine moderatoris licentia egrediatur nisi quando ad classes eundum erit.

Cum aliquis ægrotaverit, singuli per vices, juxta moderatoris assignationem, curam ejus habebunt et preces Deo quotidie pro ipso fundent.

Pro Nobilium filiis, si qui ut convictores in Seminario degere voluerint, penes moderatorem erit præscribere quas regulas ipsi debeant observare.

Si quis in has regulas, aut alia statuta quæ ad rectum seminarii regimen a moderatore condita erunt, offenderit, et post unam aut alteram privatam admonitionem non resipuerit, publice coram reliquis seminaristis reprehendatur et si contumax inveniatur toto seminario excludatur.

Actum Parisiis anno Domini 1626, die Veneris, septima Februarii.

Signatum FRANCISCUS, archiepiscopus Parisiensis.

Et de mandato præfati Illustrissimi Domini Nostri, Domini Parisiensis archiepiscopi.

BAUDOYN

Document 4

Rules of the Irish College, Paris, A.D. 1679 *

STATUTA Clericorum de Charitate Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, vulgo Collegii Longobardorum restaurati, a fundamentis reædificati et denuo fundati in gratiam Hibernorum, a clarissimis Domino Patricio Maginn, presbytero Hiberno, abbate de Thuley, et ab eleemosynis Serenissimæ Magnæ Britanniæ Reginæ primo, et Domino Malachia Kelly, presbytero item Hiberno, et Sancti Nicolai de Chapouin Priore.

1. Collegium de Charitate Beatæ Mariæ Virginis nomen retinebit et obnoxium erit Rectori et Universitati Parisiensi instar aliorum collegiorum.

2. Duo fundatores prædictæ fundationis novæ munera duo provisorum sibi reservabunt, et successorum pro hac vice sibi subrogandorum jus, qui quidem Parisiensi Episcopo nominabuntur, cui jus erit litterarum provisionis concedendarum.

3. Erunt semper novæ fundationis provisores duo, Nationis Hiberniæ, Parisiis commorantes, et unus de Ultonia, alter de Momonia, ordine uterque presbyter, quod si desint ex duabus illis provinciis presbyteri ad id munus idonei, de Conacia et Lagenia sufficientur.

4. Intra octavum diem a morte alterutrius provisoris novus eligatur, idque hoc modo: Provisor superstes, Prior, Procurator, Capellanus et tres antiquiores Bursarii ejusdem collegii in sacello collegii convenient; ubi post missam de Spiritu sancto celebratam collatis suffragiis Provisorem eligent, quem judicabunt dignissimum hoc munere, quem præsentabunt Domino Archie-

* See Jourdain's *Histoire de l'Université de Paris*, vol. I, *Pièces Justificatives*, pp. 109, 110.

piscopo Parisiensi, cum litteris nominationis a se signatis, cui jus erit quod jam dictum est litterarum concedendarum ; quod si suffragia æqualia fuerint, qui jus habebunt suffragii electos duos archiepiscopo Parisiensi præsentabunt cum litteris nominationis, cui jus erit quem eorum voluerit assumendi, eique litteras provisionis concedendi.

5. Provisores muneribus suis fruentur quoad vixerint, aut usque dum ea ultro deposuerint, idque inter manus electorum.

6. Provisorum erit, Bursarios et contubernales in collegium recipere. Quodsi duo Provisores inter se non consentiant de Bursariorum receptione, res deferatur ad illustrissimum Archiepiscopum Parisiensem, cujus judicio stabitur. Antiquioris Provisoris erit assignare cubicula cuilibet Bursariorum, et aliis quibus libuerit, quos loco mutare poterit ad arbitrium.

Ne duos inter Provisores nascatur dissidium in administratione domus, antiquior duorum collegium reget, et numquam alter, nisi eo absente.

De Priore et Procuratore

Prior et Procurator diversæ Provinciæ erunt, alter Ultoniæ, alter Momoniæ, vicibus suis. Solorum Provisorum erit eorum electio. Sexennio toto hoc munere fruentur ; et ad triennium prorogari poterit eorum munus, si ita visum fuerit Provisoribus.

Prior curam geret studiorum tum Bursariorum, tum aliorum collegii contubernalium, reget disputationes, tum philosophicas tum theologicas, quæ in collegio fient.

Rem communem collegii curabit Procurator rationesque reddet accepti et expensi tertio quoque mense, Provisoribus, præsentibus Bursariis, et aliis collegii contubernalibus.

De Capellano

Erit collegio Capellanus unus, cujus institutio et destitutio, Provisorum arbitrio subjiciatur.

De Bursariis

Bursarii erunt cujusvis Provinciæ Hiberniæ. Litteras Baptisterii, et commendatitias Episcopi, cum iis quibus constet de vita et moribus, Provisoribus suppeditabunt. Eruntque clerici. Quinquennio toto, bursis fruentur. Duobus annis in Philosophia et tribus in Theologia litteris operam dabunt; sed arbitrio Provisorum gradus assequi poterunt, aut in Theologia, aut in Jure Canonico, ea lege, ut Licentiam primam ingrediantur, et quam primum lauream doctoralem recipiant; qua accepta, hoc ipso bursa destituentur et remigrabunt in patriam ad missionem suam obeundam.

Presbyteros vitæ probatæ, in contubernium collegii accipere poterunt Provisores, qui commorari Lutetiæ justa de causa cogantur, usque eo dum in patriam reverti possunt, quos quidem presbyteros et dimittere poterunt Provisores arbitrio suo, et excludere.

Iidem presbyteri assumentur ad munera Provisoris Prioris, Procuratoris, et Capellani, ne Bursarii a studiis suis avocentur; poterunt tamen Bursarii peractis studiis assumi ad ea munera exercenda arbitrio Provisorum.

Nulla ratione oppignorari poterunt collegium Hiberni, si qui superveniant Itali quibus competant quæ requirunt vetera statuta; antiquo primæ fundationis jure fruentur.

De Domicilio

Singuli collegii contubernales, tam Bursarii, quam alii, sua habebunt cubicula, neminique licebit alterius cubiculum ingredi, nisi Provisoribus unis. Externi una aula communi accipientur.

De Mensa

Omnium contubernalium mensa una erit. Nemo in cubiculo cibum sumet; aut dabit extra collegium, nisi arbitrio Provisoris, nemo in popinâ. Nemo extra collegium dormiet sub pœna exclusionis.

De Officiis Pietatis

Quotidie hora sexta matutina, Bursarii et contubernales omnes convocati horam Primam Breviarii recitabunt, qua perfecta, qui non erunt Presbyteri Sacrum audient, quod continuo peragetur.

Vespere appetente in eodem sacello, iidem Bursarii et contubernales, completorium, certasque preces fundent pro Rege Christianissimo, pro archiepiscopo Parisiensi, pro conversione Regis et Reginæ Magnæ Britanniæ, pro fundatoribus, et provisoribus, veteribus et novis collegii.

Ante cibum mensa benedicetur, inter cibum sumendum fiet lectio pia, et post cibum agentur gratiæ, ut ad calcem officii ecclesiastici præscriptum est.

In sacello, qui ordinibus sacriis ornati sunt officium recitabunt ecclesiasticum, horis, quibus visum fuerit Provisoribus.

Ut autem hæc statuta observentur, iisque firmatis in posterum constent, opere pretium est ut Illustrissimi Parisiensis archiepiscopi auctoritate fulciantur, penes quem erit dictum collegium, quoties necessarium judicaverit visitare, et si quos abusus et defectus animadverterit, corrigere, et emendare, salvo tamen in omnibus jure amplissimi Domini, Rectoris Universitatis Parisiensis.

Franciscus, miseratione divina, et sanctæ sedis apostolicæ gratia, Parisiensis archiepiscopus, Dux et Par Franciæ, Regiorum Ordinum Commendator, visis per Nos præsentibus statutis Collegii Longobardorum Parisiis, nunc Hibernis affecti, ea confirmavimus, approbavimus, et auctoritate nostra firmamus per præsentes, in quantum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ decretis, et Diocesis Nostræ constitutionibus non repugnant, jure nostro in omnibus salvo.

Datum Parisiis, in palatio nostro archiepiscopali, anno Domini 1679, die 16ª Maii.

Document 5

Lettres Patentes Aux Archives Nationales

LOUIS, PAR LA GRACE DE DIEU, Roy de France et de Navarre, A nos amés et féaux Conseilliers les gens tenant Notre Cour de Parlement Prévost de Paris ou son Lieutenant Civil et a tous autres justiciers et officiers qu'il appartiendra Salut, sur ce qui Nous a été remontré par aucuns Prêtres et Écoliers Hybernois qu' ils sont depuis quelques années réfugiés en Notre bonne Ville de Paris, où ils continuent leurs Études et n'ont aucuns moyens de vivre que des Aumosnes des gens de bien que leurs études parachevées en Théologie et étant promus aux ordres de Prêtrise ils retournent en leur pays pour en faire les fonctions, et aveu de la Religion Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine pour laquelle ils en sont bannis et exilés, qu'en considération de leur pauvreté, bonnes vies et moeurs ; aucuns de Nos sujets leur ont faits quelques dons et aumosnes, et que d'autres leur en pourront cy après faire, lesquelles ils doutent ne pouvoir accepter sans avoir sur ce Notre permission, laquelle ils Nous ont très humblement Suplié et Requis leur octroyer, A ces causes, désirant favorablement traiter lesd. Exposants et leur donner sujet et occasion de persévérer en leurs vues et louables intentions et d'avoir mémoire de Nous en leurs prières et oraisons, attendu même que par leur zèle et grande dévotion ils vont exposer leurs Vies en leur pays pour la gloire de Dieu et augmentation de la Sainte Eglise Catholique Apostolique et Romaine, Nous leur avons permis et permettons par ces présentes signées de Notre main d'accepter et de recevoir les donations et Aumosnes qui leur ont été et seront cy après faites par quelques personnes que ce soit afin

de leur donner moyen de vivre et s'entretenir en leurs études et fonctions sans qu'ils y puissent être troublés ni empêchés par qui n'y en quelque sorte ou manière que ce soit Si vous Mandons à chacun de Vous comme il appartiendra que de cette Notre permission, Vous faites, Souffré et laissez jouir et user pleinement et paisiblement les d. Prêtres et Écoliers Hibernois, cessans et faisans cesser tous troubles et empêchements au contraire, car tel est notre plaisir.

Donné à St Germain en Laye le seizième jour de Septembre, l'an de grâce mil six cent vingt trois et de notre règne le quatorzième.

(Signé) LOUIS.

Au dessous est écrit; Par le Roy, signé Le Fournier, avec grille et paraphe.

LOUIS PAR LA GRACE DE DIEU, Roy de France et de Navarre, à tous présents et avenirs, Le feu Roy Notre très honoré Seigneur et Père que Dieu absolve ayant par sa piété incliné à la remontrance qu'aucuns pauvres Prêtres et Ecoliers Hibernois réfugiés en notre Ville de Paris, lui firent en l'année mil six cent vingt trois à ce que pour y achever leurs etudes il luy plût attendu qu'ils n'avaient moyen de vivre sans aumosnes, leur permettre d'accepter les donations qui leur pourraient être faites. Il leur en fit expédier ses lettres le Seizième Septembre de la dite année cy attachées sous le contre scel de Notre Chancellerie; depuis lequel temps, s'étant établis en Communauté et y rencontrant leur salut et consolation, Nous auroient aujourdhuy fait supplier très humblement sur les offres qu'un particulier leur fait de contribuer Dix Mille Livres à l'achat d'une maison pour leur servir de Collège et d'Hospice, spécialement à ceux de la Nation de Lagénie au d. pays d'Hybernie, leur vouloir suivant l'intention de Notre d. feu Seigneur et Père accorder la même grâce en Nos lettres sur ce nécessaires, Pour ces causes, jointes les considérations qui sont énoncées Esd. Lettres et de plus bien informé de la bonne conduite et vie exemplaire des Exposans,

de l'avis de Notre Conseil approuvant un si juste et louable dessein, *leur avons* en attendant qu'ils puissent par des Charités pourvoir à leur dotation d'abondant *permis et octroyé* et par ces Présentes Signées de Notre main permettons et octroyons de recevoir les dons et Aumosnes qui leurs ont été et pourront être cy après faits par telles personnes que ce soit afin de leur aider à vivre et entretenir en leurs d. études et fonctions à la gloire de Dieu, même d'acquérir la d. maison pour leur demeure et servir de Collège et d' Hospice à leurs compatriotes dudit pays de Lagenie, laquelle maison comme à Dieu dédiée Nous avons admortie et admortissons par ces dites présentes, à la charge qu'ils feront journellement des prières à Dieu pour la prospérité de Nous et de Notre Etat, Si donnons en Mandement à Nos Amés et féaux Conseilliers les gens tenant Nos Cours de Parlement et Chambres des Comptes à Paris, Présidens et Trésoriers généraux de France, Prévost dudit lieu ou son Lieutenant et autres nos Justiciers et Officiers quil appartiendra chacun en droit soy que ces Présentes ils fassent enregistrer, et de leur contenu jouir et user lesd. exposans pleinement et paisiblement cessant et faisant cesser tous troubles et empêchements au contraire, car tel est notre plaisir, et afin que ce soit chose ferme et stable à toujours Nous y avons fait mettre Notre Scel. Donné à St Germain en Laye au mois de Janvier l'an de grâce mil six cent soixante douze, et de notre règne le Vingt neuvième. *(Signé)* LOUIS, et sur le reply, Par le Roy. *(Signé)* COLBERT, avec grille et paraphe.

Au dessous est écrit : Registré au Greffe des expéditions de la Chancellerie de France per moy Conseiller Secrétaire du Roy Greffier des dites expéditions. *(Signé)* BOUCHET, avec paraphe.

Sur le reply est écrit :

Régistré ouï et du consentement du Procureur général du Roy pour être exécuté et jouir par les impétrans de l'effet et contenu en icelles selon leur forme et teneur suivant l'arrest de ce jour, à Paris en Parlement

le septième Juillet mil six cent soixante treize *Signé* Du Tillet avec paraphe.

Régistré en la Chambre des Comptes ouy le Procureur général du Roy pour jouir par les impétrans de l'effet et contenu en icelles selon leur forme et teneur le Septième jour d'aoust mil six cent soixante treize, *Signé* Guitonneau.

Régistré le vingt six octobre mil sept cent quarante, transcrites et insérées dans les registres de la Chambre des Comptes en exécution des Déclarations du Roy des vingt six Avril mil sept cent trente huit et vingt et un Décembre mil sept cent trente neuf. *Signé* Du Cornet avec paraphe.

Document 6

Aux Archives Nationales, E. 8,674, p. 369.

LOUIS PAR LA GRACE DE DIEU, Roy de France et de Navarre, à tous présens et avenirs Salut. les Boursiers Irlandais du Collège appellé des Lombards, fondé en l'université de Notre bonne Ville de Paris, Nous ont très humblement fait remontrer que led. Collège n'étant plus occupé par des Italiens en faveur desquels il avait été étably, et les bourses étant demeurées inutiles, les Proviseurs de ce Collège animés de zèle pour la Religion Catholique Apostolique et Romaine, et de Charité pour les pauvres Irlandais qui étudient en ladite Université les auraient nommés aus d. Bourses, Laquelle Nomination Nous aurions approuvée comme très conformé aux intentions que Nous avons de favoriser les Catholiques d'Irlande, et de donner moyen à la jeunesse de cette nation de venir s'instruire dans la religion, la piété et les sciences dont Notre Université de Paris a toujours été une Echolle célèbre depuis son établissement jusqu'à présent. C'est pourquoi Nous aurions fait expédier nos lettres patentes au mois d'Aoust mil six cent soixante dix sept pour authoriser cette nomination, et par ces Lettres Nous aurions permis entre autres choses aux d. Boursiers Irlandais d'y faire construire les bâtimens qui seraient jugés nécessaires suivant la visite que Nous avions ordonné être faite auparavant de l'état des lieux. Mais lesd. Boursiers ne pouvant pas fournir à la dépense nécessaire, cet établissement n'aurait pu réussir, ou en tous cas l'exécution en aurait été longtemps retardée, si nos Amez Patrice Maginn Abbé de Thuley au diocèse de Langres, premier Aumônier de Notre très Chère et Bien Aimée Soeur et Cousine la Reine d'Angleterre, et Malachie Kelly Prieur de St Nicolas de Chapouin, tous deux Irlandais, désirans par

leur piéte contribuer à un si saint ouvrage, ne s'étaient chargés comme ils l'ont fait du soin et de la dépense des bâtimens qu'il a fallu faire par le moyen de quoy le Collège a été rebaty depuis les fondemens avec une maison qui en dépend et lesdits Boursiers Irlandais se trouvent très commodément logés pour leurs exercices, et comme sans ce secours ils n'auraient presque tiré aucuns avantages de leur nomination aux d. Bourses, ils en ont voulu, sous Notre bon plaisir témoigner leur reconnaissance envers lesdits Srs. Maginn et Kelly et pour cet effet ils ont passé un contract avec eux par devant deux Notaires de Notre Châtelet de Paris, le vingt deuxième jour de Janvier dernier, par lequel ils ont nommés et établis lesd. S. Maginn et Kelly pour être les Proviseurs dud. Collège et leur ont remis la disposition des Charges et des Bourses d'iceluy suivant les clauses portées par le dit contract, lesquels ils nous ont fait supplier de vouloir authoriser et confirmer pour être une marque eternelle de leur reconnaissance envers leurs bienfaiteurs, et servir aussi de règlement perpétuel à l'Institution des Officiers et Boursiers du dit Collège, et voulant de Notre part favoriser de plus en plus un établissement que Nous expérons devoir être extrèmement avantageux à la Religion. A ces causes, de l'avis de Notre Conseil qui a vu le dit contract passé par les dits Boursiers Irlandais dud. Collège des Lombards et les dits Sieurs Maginn et Kelly, le dit jour vingt deux Janvier dernier cy-attaché sous notre contre-Scel, Nous avons par ces présentes signées de Notre main, iceluy contract ratiffié, agrée, approuvé, confirmé et authorisé,ratiffions, agréons, approuvons, confirmons et authorisons, voulons et Nous plait qu'il soit exécuté selon sa forme et teneur et que suivant iceluy lesd. S. Maginn et Kelly soient et demeurent pendant leur vie, Proviseurs du dit Collège, qu'en cette qualité ils en ayent la pleine et entière administration avec pouvoir d'instituer ou destituer les prieur et principal, procureur et chapelain, ensemble les Boursiers, même de se nommer des successeurs pour la première

fois, lesquels auront le même pouvoir qu'eux et après le décès des dits premiers successeurs, il en sera nommé suivant et conformément aux statuts et règlemens que Nous permettons aux d. S. Maginn et Kelly de dresser pour la conduite du d. Collège, à la charge néantmoins que l'un desd. Proviseurs sera toujours de la province d' Ultonie en Irlande, et l'autre de celle de Momonie au même pays, Comme aussi les Prieur ou Principal et Chapelain seront toujours de l'une ou de l'autre ded. provinces à l'exclusion de tous autres, mais à l'égard des boursiers, ils pourront être nommés indifféremment de toutes les provinces d'Irlande.

Si donnons en mandement à Nos Amez et féaux les gens tenant Notre Cour de Parlement de Paris que ces présentes ils fassent registrer et du contenu en icelles fassent jouir les dits Sieurs Maginn et de Kelly et les Sieurs Officiers et Boursiers dud. Collège des Lombards pleinement et paisiblement sans permettre leur être fait ou donné aucun trouble ou empêchement au contraire, Car tel est Notre plaisir, et afin que se soit chose ferme et stable à toujours Nous avons fait mettre Notre Scel aux dites présentes sauf en autre chose Notre Droit et l'utruy en toutes. Donné à St Germain en Laye au mois de Mars l'an de grâce mil six cent quatre vingt un et de Notre Régne le trente huitième. (SIGNÉ) LOUIS ; et sur le reply, Par le Roy, (signé) Colbert, avec grille et paraphe. Sur le reply est écrit : Visa signé Le Tellier ; et au dessous : pour Confirmation du Contract touchant le Collège des Irlandais cy devant des Lombards.

Sur le reply est encore écrit :

Régistré ouï le Procureur général du Roy, pour jouir par les impétrans de leur effet et contenu et être exécuté selon leur forme et teneur suivant et aux charges portées par l'Arrêt de ce jour, à Paris, en Parlement, Le dix neuf Aoust mil six cent quatre vingt un, Signé Jacquet avec paraphe.

Collationné, par les Conseilliers du Roy Notaires au

Chatelet de Paris sur les Originaux en parchemin desd. Lettres patentes, lettres de confirmation et de ratification, et expéditions en parchemin des dits actes de consentement et de nomination des Proviseurs, le tout représenté et rendu cejourd'huy dix sept Décembre mil sept cent cinquante six.

Document 7*

Arret du Conseil du Roi du Mars 20, 1728. Portant Reglement Sur le College des Lombards, les Pretres et Les Ecoliers Irlandais

Vu en Conseil d'Etat du Roy, sa Majesté y étant, l'arrêt rendu en y celuy le 30 Décembre, 1724, par lequel sa Majesté aurait renvoyé au Sr Cardinal de Noailles archevêque de Paris, la requête des pauvres écoliers Hybernois y insérée, et tendante à ce qu'il plut à sa Majesté, pour les causes y contenues, et en interprétant, autant que besoin serait, l'ancien arrêt du Conseil du 15 Juillet, 1707, ordonner que les pauvres Ecoliers Hybernois jouiraient seuls de la pension de 1,000f que le Clergé de France leur fait pour leur subsistance, ensemble tout ce qui leur sera cy après donné en particulier, que le tout sera reçu par le Préfet des dits Ecoliers, à la charge d'en rendre compte tous les trois mois en présence de l'écolier le plus ancien de chacune de leurs quatre Provinces, devant le Supérieur, ou tel autre qu'il plaira à sa Majesté de nommer; comme aussi que, conformément au dit arrêt du 15 Juillet, 1707, les Prêtres et Ecoliers jouiront par égale portion de tous les legs et donations faites ou à faire en commun aux dits Prêtres et Ecoliers, et notamment du Collége des Lombards, biens, revenus et bourses communes qui en dépendent; en conséquence que par devant les Supérieurs que le Sieur Cardinal de Noailles archevêque de Paris a nommé aux dits Prêtres et Ecoliers, le Procureur sera tenu de rendre compte des dits biens et revenus, et de désigner la portion du Collège qui doit être occupée par les dits Ecoliers, afin qu'ils ne soient point troublés dans leurs exercices, et qu'à l'avenir le dit Procureur sera tenu de rendre compte des biens en communs de trois en trois mois pardevant les Proviseurs

* Original aux archives Nationales, A.D. 804. Printed ibid E. 2087.

dudit Collège, le Préfet des Ecoliers, un Prêtre et un Ecolier choisi par les autres, à la pluralité des voix, en présence de leurs dits Supérieurs; et qu'au surplus le dit arrêt du 15 Juillet, 1707, sera exécuté. Copie imprimée dudit arret par lequel, en confirmant les lettres patentes du 16 Septembre, 1623, Janvier 1672, et Août 1677, il est entr'autres choses ordonné que les dits Prêtres et Ecoliers ne composeront qu'un même corps et jouiront des mêmes biens, et dudit Collège des Lombards, suivant les règles duquel Collège les dits Ecoliers seront gouvernés, ou par telles autres qu'il plaira au Sr Cardinal, ou à ses successeurs Archevêques de Paris, de faire pour le bon ordre, éducation, discipline et études des dits Ecoliers.

Requête des dits Prêtres Irlandois contenant leurs réponses et tendante à ce que, sans s'arréter à la requête des Ecoliers, l'arrêt du 15 Juillet, 1707, serait exécuté en tout son contenu ; lettres patentes concernant l'établissement et la discipline des Prêtres et des Ecoliers Hibernois au dit Collège, du 16 Septembre, 1623, Janvier, 1672, août 1677, Mars 1681, arrets d'enregistrement d'ycelles ; Requête du Recteur, Doyens et Procureurs des Nations de l'Université de Paris, tendante à ce qu'il plut à sa Majesté, pour les causes y contenues, les recevoir opposants au dit arrêt du 15 Juillet, 1707, en ce qu'il est ordonné par y celui que les Ecoliers Hibernois du Collège des Lombards y seront gouvernés selon les règles du Collège, ou autres qu'il plaira au Sr Archevêque de Paris et à ses successeurs, de faire pour l'ordre, la discipline et les études dudit Collège ; faisant droit sur leur opposition les maintenir dans leur jurisdiction, droit de visite et inspection sur le dit Collège des Lombards en la mesme forme usitée pour les autres Collèges.

Copie extraite des registres de l'Université des délibérations prises pour le dit Collège ès années 1678, 1679, 1680, 1681, et 1682 :

Copie imprimée d'un réglement de la dite Université pour le dit Collège du 17 Avril, 1717, avec une lettre de remerciement des évêques Hibernois du mois de Septembre suivant ; Procés-verbal de visite faite au dit

Collège, par les dits Recteur, Doyens et Procureurs le 10 et 14 Avril, 1725 ; mémoire par eux fourni de l'état ancien et présent du dit Collège, leur avis contenant différents articles de réforme, et des dispositions à faire pour le bon ordre du dit Collège.

Procès-verbal du dit Sr Cardinal de Noailles contenant remise à luy faite par les Prêtres et Ecoliers Hibernois de leurs titres et mémoires, en exécution de l'arrêt du 30 Décembre, 1724 ; l'examen du procés-verbal de visite faite par ses ordres au dit Collège, par l'abbé Du Bourg, son vicaire général, au mois d'Avril, 1725, et l'avis du Sr Cardinal du Ier Février dernier ; Lettre signée Viel, Recteur de l'Université, portant, après communication prise avec le Sindic de la dite Université, acquiescement au dit avis, ensemble les autres pièces et mémoires produits :

Ouy le rapport et tout considéré.

Le Roy étant en son Conseil, ayant aucunement égard à l'opposition des Recteur, Doyens des Facultés, et Procureurs des Nations de l'Université, a ordonné et ordonne ce qui suit :

ARTICLE 1

LE Collège des Lombards, accordé par le feu Roy aux Prêtres et Clercs Hibernois pour y être élevés et instruits, et se rendre capables des dites Missions, en conservant le nom de Collège des Lombards, sera soumis à l'autorite de l'Archevêque de Paris, tant en visite que hors de visite ; il y pourra commettre pour Supérieurs ses Grands Vicaires, ou telles autres personnes qu'il jugera propres au gouvernement des dits ecclésiastiques, et à leur procurer secours et protection.

ARTICLE 2

LE dit Collège sera aussy soumis aux réglements généraux de l'Université, à la discipline académique, et à la visite du Recteur, ainsy qu'aux ordonnances qu'il fera dans le cours d'ycelle,

ARTICLE 3

LE Collège sera composé de deux Communautés, une des Prêtres étudians, et l'autre des Clercs aussy étudians, et l'une et l'autre Communauté suivront les réglements que l'Archevêque de Paris fera tant pour les exercices des Prêtres, que pour préparer les Clercs aux Saints ordres.

ARTICLE 4

POUR entretenir une parfaite égalité dans les deux Communautés, elles seront composées d'un nombre égal de Prêtres et de Clercs étudians, qui seront pris en nombre égal des Quatre Provinces d'Ultonie, Momonie, Lagenie et Conacie, sans qu'il soit permis à aucune des dites Provinces d'avoir un plus grand nombre de Prêtres ou de Clercs que l'autre, sous prétexte de legs, donations ou charités particulières, ; serait seulement préférés ceux qui seront de la famille ou du diocèse en faveur desquels la donation aura été faite, s'ils ont d'ailleurs les qualités requises ; et en cas de disette de Prêtres ou de Clercs d'une Province on en prendra des autres, avec l'avis des Supérieurs. Bien entendu que lorsque la dite province fournira des sujets de qualité requise, ceux qui auront été choisis des autres provinces leur céderont la place.

ARTICLE 5

LES dites Deux Communautés ne formeront qu'un seul corps gouverné par quatre Proviseurs tirés des dites quatre Provinces, qui seront au moins Maîtres es Arts dans l'Université de Paris, et par un Préfet des Clercs étudians, lesquels seront tenus de faire leur demeure actuelle dans le Collège, à peine de privation de leur place, qui sera déclarée vacante si, après le premier avertissement des Supérieurs, ils continuent à résider ailleurs.

ARTICLE 6

ET pour que la subordination, sans laquelle le gouvernement d'aucune Communauté ne peut se soutenir, soit

observée dans le dit Collège, des dits quatre Proviseurs un sera le premier, auquel les trois autres seront subordonnés dans les offices qu'ils rempliront ; lesquels offices seront de Principal du Collège ; Préfet des études des Prêtres ; Chapelain ; et Procureur du Collège. Le Préfet des Clercs sera aussy surbordonné au Principal.

ARTICLE 7

L'ÉLECTION des quatre Proviseurs se fera par les Suppôts de chaque Province, demeurant actuellement dans le Collège, qui nommeront aussi chacune leur Proviseur. Il n'y aura que les Prêtres et Clercs étudians en Théologie et en Philosophie qui auront voix active dans les dites élections. Les Humanistes et les Prêtres interdits de leurs fonctions ecclésiastiques en seront exclus et n'auront voix active ni passive ; mais les Prêtres de qualité requise, étant hors du Collège, pourront être élus à condition d'y venir demeurer, suivant l'art^e 5 cydessus. La nomination des dits Proviseurs ne sera que pour trois ans, sauf à pouvoir être continués trois autres années. Mais ceux qui l'auront été six ne pourront plus être continués sauf une permission par écrit de l'Archevêque de Paris, dont sera fait mention dans l'acte d'élection.

ARTICLE 8

L'ÉLECTION se fera dans la Chapelle du Collège, en présence de l'Abbé de St Victor, et du Chancelier de l'Eglise de Paris, nommés protecteurs du Collège par titre de fondation ; et encore en présence des superieurs nommés par l'Archevêque de Paris, au nom duquel le jour de l'assemblée pour l'élection sera indiqué. La dite élection sera précédée par une Messe du St Esprit, après laquelle tous les vocaux promettront aux Présidents de l'assemblée d'élire en leur conscience les sujets les plus propres, sans égard à aucun motif d'intérêt ou de sollicitation ; dans laquelle élection, qui sera faite par scrutin aucun sujet ne sera censé élu qu'il n'ait plus de la moitié des dits suffrages ; et si en trois scrutins faits dans la même

séance, le partage subsiste, l'élection sera dévolue à l'Archevêque de Paris, comme aussy, en cas que par mort ou autrement, il vienne à vaquer une place pendant le triennat, le dit Archevêque nommera quelqu'un de la même province jusqu'à l'élection générale, afin que le service ne manque pas.

ARTICLE 9

APRÈS l'élection ainsi faite, l'Archevêque de Paris, attribuera à son choix aux dits quatre Proviseurs, les offices de Principal, Préfet des études des Prêtres, Chapelain et Procureur du dit Collège. Celuy qui aura les fonctions de Principal sera premier Proviseur et veillera sur la discipline du Collège, sur les exercices communs d'étude et de piété ; sur l'administration du temporel des deux Communautés ; sur le service divin ; sur l'admission ou réception des sujets au dit Collège ; l'observation des règlements journaliers. Il fera la distribution des chambres aux Prêtres suivant l'ancienneté de leur entrée dans le dit Collège et sans égard à une province plus qu'à l'autre. Il visitera les chambres à telle heure qu'il jugera à propos ; il aura la nuit les clefs de la porte du dit Collège, d'où nul prêtre ne pourra sortir sans sa permission, même les jours de congé.

ARTICLE 10

LE Préfet des études des Prêtres étudians en Philosophie et en Théologie, sera deuxième Proviseur et veillera sur leurs mœurs, et aura soin que chaque Prêtre ait une Bible et en lise tous les jours quelque chapitre, dont il se fera rendre compte. Leurs études ne se feront que dans un des Collèges de l'Université. Il leur indiquera, de l'avis du Principal, les professeurs, sans qu'il leur soit loisible d'en choisir, et ils iront tous ensemble aux leçons, aux conférences ou répétitions qui se feront tous les jours ; le dit Préfet présidera en personne ou emploiera, en cas d'empêchement, un Théologien, pour les répétitions de Philosophie, et un bachelier ou licentié pour

celles de Théologie ; et dans le cours de l'année on fera deux examens où les Supérieurs nommés par l'Archevêque de Paris seront priés d'assister. Ceux des dits étudians en Théologie ou en Philosophie qui n'auront pas profité dans le cours de l'année seront renvoyés, et ceux qui n'auront pas autant fait de progrès qu'il auraient pu, seront tenus de subir à la fin des vacances un troisième examen.

Article 11

Le Chapelain, qui sera troisième Proviseur, aura soin de l'église, des vases sacrés, ornements, linges, livres et ustensiles de la chapelle, dont il se chargera par état signé par les Proviseurs, qu'il remettra à son successeur au dit office, après un recolement qui en sera fait en présence des dits Proviseurs et du Préfet des Clercs. Il pourvoira pareillement à tout ce qui concerne le service divin, l'acquittement des fondations, dont il affichera le tableau dans la sacristie, où seront marqués les jours qu'elles doivent être acquittées. Il tiendra registre des messes qui se diront chaque jour dans la chapelle et le fera signer par les Prêtres qui les auront dites, avant qu'ils sortent de la sacristie.

Article 12

Il ne sera point loisible aux Prêtres demeurant dans le Collège d'aller dire la messe dans la ville ou à la campagne. Ceux qui en seront requis y seront envoyés par le Chapelain, qui leur fera la distribution des messes qui se diront par les dits Prêtres dans les dites paroisses ou autres lieux du diocèse, dont il recevra les honoraires de ceux qui les feront dire, pour remettre au Procureur ce qui sera règlé par les Proviseurs, pour contribuer à leur subsistance journalière, et le reste aux dits Prêtres pour leur entretien ; à peine contre les Prêtres convaincus d'en avoir agi autrement d'être mis hors du Collège ; et sera tenu le dit Chapelain d'en rendre compte aux dits Prêtres en présence des trois autres Proviseurs,

Article 13

Le Procureur du Collège sera le quatrième Proviseur, et après la nomination qu'en fera l'Archevêque de Paris, il donnera bonne et suffisante caution avant de s'immiscer dans la régie du temporel, dont ensuite il fera la régie et la recette tant des revenus du Collège, que des libéralités et charités qui seront faites en commun en faveur des Prêtres et des Clercs étudians, ainsi que la dépense pour les besoins des uns et des autres, sans que luy ny aucun autre puisse les employer que pour les besoins communs des dits Prêtres et Clercs étudians. Il en rendra compte tous les trois mois en présence des Trois autres Proviseurs, du Préfet des Clercs, du plus ancien Prêtre, et du plus ancien Clerc étudiant, et tous les ans devant les mêmes, en présence des Supérieurs nommés par l'Archevêque de Paris ; pour les comptes ainsy rendus être remis avec les pièces justificatives dans les archives où seront enfermés tous les titres de la Communauté sous trois clefs, dont chacune sera gardée par le Principal, le Préfet des Prêtres et le Préfet des Clercs ; et ne pourront en être tirés qu'en présence des quatre Proviseurs, pour cause nécessaire.

Article 14

Le Procureur rendra tous les ans son compte en langue latine ou française. Il contiendra trois parties : la première comprendra, avec les sommes reçues des revenus et des libéralités, celles qui seront dues et échues quoyque non touchées, et on y marquera d'où elles proviennent, le temps qu'elles auront du être reçues, et celuy de l'échéance de celles à recouvrer. La deuxième partie contiendra la dépense par chapitres séparés, des différentes natures et des paiements, et le temps qu'ils auront été faits. La troisième partie comprendra la reprise des sommes non reçues quoyqu' employées en recettes et suivant l'ordre qu'elles y auront été mises.

Article 15

Le Procureur entrant en charge fera un inventaire exact de tous les meubles, vaisselles et ustensiles de la Maison, lequel sera signé des Proviseurs, et lorsqu'il sortira de charge il en sera fait un recolement pour être remis à son successeur ; et aussy à chaque changement du dit office ; lequel Procureur ne fera aucun bail à loyer sans l'aveu des trois autres Proviseurs et du Préfet des Clercs, non plus que des réparations audessus de 20 livres. Il n'empruntera aucune somme ny ne fera aucune aliénation sans l'aveu des dits Proviseurs et du Préfet, et le consentement par écrit de l'Archevêque de Paris et de l'Université.

Article 16

L'expérience ayant fait voir que les Clercs étudians ne pouvaient prendre leurs repas dans le même réfectoire avec les Prêtres, ny user de la même cuisine, dont les inconvénients ont été sensibles, il sera établi pour les dits Clercs une cuisine particulière et pour y parvenir les dits Clercs ayant, suivant l'arrêt de 1707, un droit égal à celui des Prêtres, il sera fait ut partage égal en deux lots des bâtiments dudit Collège, par experts qui seront nommés par l'Archevêque de Paris, dont le choix appartiendra aux Prêtres, et jusqu'à ce les Clercs jouiront par provision de la portion qu' ils occupent jusqu'à la rue Judas, et de plus des quatre petites chambres attenant à leur logement du côté de la Chapelle, et on leur cèdera la cuisine et boutique qui sont sous le logement qu'ils occupent, pour leur servir de cuisine et de réfectoire, en faisant murer les ouvertures du côté de la rue, si mieux n'aiment les Prêtres opter dès à présent cette portion assignée aux Clercs laquelle option ils seront tenus de faire dans un mois du jour du présent arrêt, si non référé à l'Archevêque de Paris.

ARTICLE 17

EN conséquence le Préfet des Clercs, qui sera toujours nommé par l'Archevêque de Paris, et continué autant qu'il jugera à propos, dirigera la Communauté des dits Clercs, tant au spirituel qu'au temporel, présidera à tous leurs exercices d'études et de piété, en quoy il pourra se faire aider par une ou plusieurs personnes, de l'avis du Premier Proviseur, et du consentement du Supérieur préposé par l'Archevêque de Paris.

ARTICLE 18

LE dit Préfet des Clercs recevra les sommes provenant des donations et charités qui leur ont été ou seront faites en particulier, comme aussi la part et portion qui leur appartient en commun avec les Prêtres dans les biens et revenus dudit collège, pour les employer à la subsistance et entretien des Clers, et en compter de trois en trois mois devant les quatre Proviseurs, les deux plus anciens Clercs de chaque province ; et à la fin de chaque année devant les mêmes et le Supérieur nommé par l'Archevêque de Paris. Dans le nombre desquels Clercs on ne recevra aucun étudiant qui ne sera au moins capable d'entrer en troisième, si ce n'est dans le cas de disette de sujets d'une province et avec le consentement par écrit dudit Supérieur.

ARTICLE 19

LA Communauté des Prêtres jouira pareillement en particulier des dons et charités qui leur seront faites en particulier, conjointement avec la portion qui leur appartient et est commune dans les biens dudit collège. Et sera entre eux la vie commune rétablie, sans qu'il soit loisible à aucun des dits Prêtres demeurant audit Collège d'aller prendre ses repas aux auberges, gargotes, cabarets de vin ou de bière, ni nême d'y faire porter au réfectoire ou dans les chambres particulières des portions des dites auberges. Cette économie sera dirigée par le

Procureur du Collège aidé d'un économe pris par tour dans les Prêtres de chaque province, qui en fera la fonction pendant un mois. L'heure des repas sera règlée, et pendant yceux le silence gardé, pour qu'ils soient attentifs à la lecture qu'ils feront chacun à leur tour d'un chapitre de l'Ancien Testament et de quelques livres de piété.

ARTICLE 20

POUR éviter tout abus dans l'admission des Prêtres au dit collège et dans la distribution des chambres, on n'en recevra à l'avenir aucun qui ne soit présenté par le Proviseur de sa province ; à l'effet de quoy en arrivant à Paris, ils iront se faire inscrire par le Principal, et après avoir exhibé leurs lettres de prêtrise, leur exeat et leur certificat de vie et de mæurs, ils seront examinés par le Préfet des Prêtres, deuxième Proviseur, sur leurs études, et ceux qui ne seront pas jugés avoir les dispositions suffisantes aux études convenables à la mission, seront, de l'avis du Premier Proviseur, différés à un autre temps. L'admission après le dit examen se fera par rang d'antiquité de leur inscription sur le catalogue du Principal ; et quant au logement, il ne sera point affecté à une province par préference à une autre, ny par faveur pour un prêtre au préjudice des autres sous quelque prétexte que ce soit. Comme ils seront en nombre égal de chaque province et reçus par ancienneté ils opteront suivant leur rang les chambres qui viendront à vaquer, dans les vingt quatre heures, après la vacance publiquement déclarée.

ARTICLE 21

LES Prêtres ne pourront rester au dit Collège que six ans, savoir deux pour étudier en philosophie, trois en Théologie, et un pour se former à la mission ; en sorte cependant que ceux qui auraient fait quelques années des dites études à Paris avant d'entrer au dit Collège, n'y restent que pour achever ce qui leur reste des dites

six années : et s'il se trouve d'iceux qui auraient fait leurs cinq années d'études quelques sujets qui s'y seraient distingués, et que les quatre Proviseurs jugent capables de mieux servir l'église en prenant des degrés, ils pourront passer bacheliers en Théologie, ou prendre des degrés en droit canon dans la sixième année ; et s'ils sont en état d'entrer dans la première licence qui commencera deux ans après leur baccalaureat, en ce cas ils pourront rentrer dans le collège, et loger dans la chambre qu'ils auront quittée après leurs six années.

ARTICLE 22

LES Proviseurs auront pour la Communauté des Clercs étudiants les mêmes égards que pour les Prêtres. Ils éviteront toute partialité et prédilection, et leurs procureront les secours temporels avec autant de zèle qu'aux Prêtres. Ils auront droit de présenter les Clercs des quatre provinces, et leur Préfet sera tenu de les réunir, pourvu que par l'examen qu'il en fera, conjointement avec le premier Proviseur, ils aient les qualités requises à l'état ecclésiastique.

ARTICLE 23

TOUTES contestations sur l'admission ou expulsion des Prêtres, ou autrement les concernant, seront terminées par les quatre Proviseurs. Les mêmes contestations concernant les Clercs, seront décidées par le premier Proviseur et leur Prefét. Et si dans l'un ou l'autre cas, ils ne peuvent les terminer, elles seront décidées par les Supérieurs nommés par l'Archevêque de Paris.

ARTICLE 24

LE portier dudit Collège tiendra toujours la porte fermée, ainsy qu'il est d'usage dans les Communautés ecclésiastiques, afin qu'il soit en état de rendre compte au Principal de tous ceux qui entreront ou sortiront. Il ne sera permis à aucune personne étrangère de monter dans les chambres ; les étrangers seront conduits dans une salle

destinée pour les recevoir. Les Prêtres ny les Clercs étudiants ne pourront se promener dans la cour ou dans le jardin avec des étrangers, ny même entre eux, après le temps de la récréation sans la permission du Principal, qui ne sera jamais donnée pour y rester et s'y entretenir le soir après la retraite sonnée, lors de laquelle tous se retireront et garderont le silence. La porte sera fermée à neuf heures du soir en hiver et à dix heures en été, sans qu'il soit permis de l'ouvrir la nuit que pour des cas extraordinaires, dont le Principal rendra compte aux Supérieurs ecclésiastiques.

ARTICLE 25

LE Principal s'assemblera tous les samedis avec les autres Proviseurs et le Préfet des Clercs pour prendre connaissance de tout ce qui se passe dans le Collége, tant pour le spirituel que pour le temporel; et s'assurer entr'eux que chacun remplisse ses devoirs avec exactitude, et savoir si les Prêtres et les Clercs font des progrès dans la piété et dans l'étude. Le dit Principal fera observer pour réglement journalier des Prêtres ce qui se pratique dans les Séminaires par rapport aux heures de lever et du coucher, de l'oraison, instructions de piété, récitation de l'office divin, retraite annuelle, conférences publiques et particulières, et pour l'examen des études. Il le fera de même observer aux Clercs, par proportion, cependant, à leur état et à leur âge.

ARTICLE 26

LES fautes des ecclésiastiques étant moins pardonnables dans un lieu où tout les doit porter à la sainteté de leur état, il n'en sera passé aucune; mais pour ôter aux inférieurs tout lieu de se plaindre de trop de sévérite des Supérieurs, et aux Supérieurs toute occasion de trop de complaisance, les délinquants seront punis dans l'ordre qui suit par les Supérieurs, après avoir entendu les Proviseurs et le Préfet des Clercs, sans qu'ils puissent s'en dispenser, sans un consentement par écrit de l'Archevêque de Paris. Ceux qui se seront convaincus

d'avoir été au cabaret de vin, de bière ou de café; ceux qui, se seront énivrés même hors des dits lieux; qui auront couché hors du Collége sans permission, ou cause légitime, dont les Proviseurs et les Supérieurs jugeront; ceux qui se seront battus, qui auront bléssé ou usé de violence; ceux qui se seront exposés à jurements scandaleux dedans ou dehors du Collége; ceux qui auront fait des cabales contre le bon ordre de la maison pour y gagner des suffrages pour placer ou deplacer les autres; et ceux qui auront resisté publiquement en face aux Proviseurs ou Supérieurs, seront chassés du Collége sans espérance d'y rentrer; et ceux qui se seront querellés ou injuriés, qui feront venir dans leurs chambres du vin ou de la bière sans permission, qui entreront dans la chambre des autres secrètement, qui sans permission feront entrer des étrangers dans leur chambre; ceux qui manqueront de respect aux Proviseurs, et ceux qui se relacheront considérablement dans les devoirs de l'étude et de la piété; seront mis en pénitence au jugement du Principal, qui en rendra compte au supérieur ecclésiastique; et à faute par eux de s'y soumettre, seront chassés du Collége, et pour qu'aucun n'ignore sur ce sujet ses obligations, cet article sera extrait et affiché dans la salle commune et dans les réfectoires.

Article 27

Les prêtres qui auront fait leurs six années d'études et qui auront été ordonnés dans leur pays, ou en France, pour le titre porté dans la bulle du Pape Urbain VIII, seront tenus de se rendre aux ordres de leurs Evêques pour servir l'église. Ceux qui resteront de leur propre autorité en France pour chercher de l'emploi sans le consentement par écrit de leurs Evêques seront dénoncés par les Proviseurs aux Supérieurs ecclésiastiques pour leur faire oter les pouvoirs de dire la messe dans les diocèses où ils se seront retirés, et au dit Recteur pour les faire déclarer déchus des privilèges de l'Université, comme contrevenant aux clauses de la dite Bulle.

ARTICLE 28

ET d'autant que les Proviseurs actuellement en place ont donné lieu à des plaintes et à des contestations auxquelles il est nécessaire de pourvoir promptement, Sa Majesté en a déclaré l'élection nulle, et leur fait défense d'en continuer les fonctions, et aux Prêtres et et Clercs du dit Collége de les reconnaître. En conséquence Sa Majesté pour cette fois seulement, et sans tirer à conséquence, a nommé et nomme les Sieurs Jean Farely, Docteur en théologie de la Faculté de Paris, Proviseur de la province d'Ultonie (Ulster),* et aux fonctions de Principal dudit Collége ; le sieur Jean Bourk, licentié en théologie de la Faculté de Paris, Proviseur de la province de Momonie (Munster),* et aux fonctions de Préfet des Clercs étudiants ; le sieur Marc Kirvan, licentié en théologie de la Faculté de Paris, Proviseur de la province de Conacie (Connaught)* et aux fonctions de Sacristain le sieur Gautier Daton, licentié en théologie de la Faculté de Paris, Proviseur de la province de Lagenie (Leinster),* aux fonctions de Procureur dudit Collége, pour les exercer jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1730, aprés quoy il sera procédé aux élections dans la forme prescrite par le présent arrêt, qui s'exécutera nonobstant toutes oppositions pour lesquelles il ne sera différé, eê dont, si aucunes interviennent, Sa Majesté s'est réservt la connaissance.

DAGUESSAU. CHAUVELUI.

[The foregoing royal decree was read to the students in the Lombard College on May 21, 1728, in presence of the Rector of the University, of the Vicar-General of Paris and of the Superiors-Major.—Arch. E. 2,087.]

* Ulster, Munster, Connaught, Leinster inserted by editor.

Document 8

The subjoined extract, copied from the Register no. 30 of the German Nation in the University of Paris is dated April 1, 1684. All the names, except Jandel from the continent and Innes from Scotland, are distinctly Irish. The names Butler, Daly, Darsy, Magennis, Cusack, certainly belong to the Irish college, as appears from contemporary legal documents.

In nomine Sanctissimæ et Individuæ Trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

Prima procuratio Magistri Joannis Darsii, presbyteri diocesis Tuamemsis in Hibernia, Sacræ Facultatis Parisiensis Baccalaurei, nec non in majore examine liberalium apud Beatam Virginem examinatoris

CALENDIS Aprilis anni Domini Millesimi sexcentesimi octogesimi quarti, habitis pro more constantissimæ nationis in peristylio Mathurinorum comitiis procuratoriis, postquam ornatissimus Dominus procurator fecerit supplicandi potestatem, ut moris est pro munere procuratoris; ipse steti, exposuique nationi, me ad munus censorinum hoc anno admissum non fuisse, quandoquidem die vigesima Octobris nuper elapsi, quo scilicet censores electi fuerint, ad sacramentum præstandum cum tribus aliarum nationem censoribus non sim admissus, idque propter contestationem Magistri Neale, contendentis suas nunc currere vices, qui tamen ad illud munus non fuit admissus, et subinde probavi nullum esse censorem in natione constantissimâ; eligendum itaque a proceribus aliquem censorem, dixique me meas expectaturum vices, quibus sine controversia eo possim fungi munere. Ad procuratorum autem quod attinet munus, turnus cum esset Continentium, nec adesset Magister Jandel, qui in ea tribu unicus tunc esset, meosque inter insulares tunc

currere vices, supplicavi ornatissimo Domino procuratori, totique nationi pro illo munere: supplicavit et Magister Daniel O'Doran pro illo munere censorino; tunc placuit, me procuratorio, Magistrum vero Deoran censorino munere gaudere, meum mihi jus ad præfatum munus censorinum conservandum donec meæ adsint vices.

In his comitiis aliaque multa conclusa sunt, primo Magistrum Carolum Daly remittendum esse ad judices cum quibus causam suam agat adversus Magistrum Jandel de quibusdam sportulis seu distributionibus quas contendit sibi debitas esse a Magistro Jandel.

2⁰. Magistro David Hederman, in patriam profecturo, pacis et concordiæ causa, summam sexaginta libellorum pro distributionibus omnibus ipsi debitas, esse concedendam, ea tamen lege, ut si unquam ex patria redierit, nihil omnino ipsi solveretur donec omnes nationis Magistri, quibus distributiones sunt debitæ, tantum receperint, item togas tres, claves et sigilla nationis, quæ per annum integrum contra nationis statuta, apud se retinuerit, ornatissimo domino procuratori restituat.

3⁰. Nos nationis Magistros in præsentiarum censeri indubitatos: Joannem Numan, Mauritium Fitzgerald, Michaelem Morus, Petrum Jandel, Joannem Glissan, Edwardum Butler, Danielem Deoran, Dionysium O'Hyne, Robertum Cusack, Carolum Daly, Ludovicum Innes, Joannem Darsy, Carolum Magennis, Jacobum Murphy, David Lehan, Thaddeum O'Cruoly, Edmundum Fennel, Jacobum Lynch, Thomam Reilly.

Denique deputari, cum ornatissimo domino procuratori recens electo, censorem, quæstorem et Magistrum Butler, qui nomine et auctoritate nationis, controversa inter utramque tribum capita, pleno jure componant cum Magistro Jandel.

JOANNES DARSY,
Procurator.

Document 9

List of the Students appointed to Burses in the Lombard College, A.D. 1776. Copied from Act of Nomination

Rev. Edward Butler, priest, Cashel.
Rev. Charles Maguire, priest, Clogher.
Rev. Terence Morgan, priest, Dromore.
Rev. Ambrose Madin, priest, Clonfert.
Rev. Colla Fitzpatrick, priest, Ossory.
Rev. Nellan (?) Machar, priest, Down.
Rev. John Roth, priest, Kilkenny.
Rev. Hugh Dermot, priest, Tuam.
Rev. Donat Heyne, priest, Emily.
Rev. Donat Callaghan, priest, Cork.
Rev. Patrick Cruice, priest, Meath.

Bursars in 1681, from Letters Patent

Rev. Patrick Heffernan, priest and bachelor of theology.
Rev. Edmund Glissane, priest.
Rev. Richard Maguin, priest.
Rev. Edward Butler, licenciate in theology.
Rev. Denis Vaughan, bachelor in theology.
Rev. Patrick O'Donnelly, priest.
Rev. John Duffy, priest.
Rev. John Darsy, priest.
Rev. Terence O'Donnelly, priest.
Rev. Patrick Flynn, priest.
Rev. Thomas Nugent, priest.
Rev. James Cotter, priest.
Rev. John Huline, priest.
Rev. Thomas Clancy, priest.

Document 10

List of Students of the Community of Clerics, 1772. Copied from "Deed of donatio inter vivos"

ACCEPTED for the said Community by Messire Patrick Joseph Plunket, Priest, Doctor in Theology of the Faculty of Paris; Prefect of Studies of the said Community, and by Messieurs the clerics and scholars of the said Community, following:

1. M. James Marky, deacon.
2. M. Patrick Maguire, deacon.
3. M. Charles Leenagh, deacon.
4. M. Patrick Dowling, deacon.
5. M. Michael Harrington, subdeacon and procurator of the said community.
6. M. William FitzSimons, subdeacon.
7. M. Charles Kearney, subdeacon.
8. M. James Ferris, subdeacon.
9. M. Peter Prendergast, subdeacon.
10. M. Patrick Darene, subdeacon.
11. M. Andrew Comick, subdeacon.
12. M. Thomas Macawell, subdeacon.
13. M. Patrick Smith, subdeacon.
14. M. John O'Donnell, acolyte.
15. M. Edmond O'Reilly, acolyte.
16. M. Maurice Keegan, acolyte.
17. M. Francis Maglone, acolyte.
18. M. Joseph Walsh, acolyte.
19. M. Arthur Maguill, acolyte.
20. M. Denis O'Beirne, acolyte.
21. M. Thomas Sinnick, acolyte.
22. M. John Flynn, acolyte.
23. M. Michael Mackean, acolyte.

24. M. James Finucane, acolyte.
25. M. John Pearry, tonsured cleric.
26. M. Eugene Mullady, tonsured cleric.
27. M. Peter Flood, tonsured cleric.
28. M. Nicholas Leonard, tonsured cleric.
29. M. Denis O'Hea, tonsured cleric.
30. M. Edward Sheridan, tonsured cleric.
31. M. Nicholas Murphy, tonsured cleric.
32. M. Peter O'Byrn, tonsured cleric.
33. M. Edward Dusay, tonsured cleric.
34. M. Michael Maginn, tonsured cleric.
35. M. Patrick Kelly, tonsured cleric.
36. M. Eugene Flynn, tonsured cleric.
37. M. Noel (Nael ?) O'Flaherty, tonsured cleric.
38. M. Patrick Sheedy, tonsured cleric.
39. M. William Crawford, tonsured cleric.
40. M. John Hallinan, tonsured cleric.
41. M. Charles Doran, tonsured cleric.
42. M. John Joyce, tonsured cleric.
43. M. Patrick Fox, tonsured cleric.
44. M. Patrick McFarland, écolier, student.
45. M. Sylvester Granan, écolier.
46. M. James Feenney, écolier.
47. M. Terence O'Neil, écolier.
48. M. Bernard McMahon, écolier.
49 M. Thomas Taffe, écolier.
50. M. Thomas Lacy, écolier.
51. M. Francis Fahy, écolier.
52. M. Patrick Madgett, écolier.
53. M. Patrick Murry, écolier.
54. M. Thomas Oliffe, écolier.
55. M. Ambrose Fitzgerald, écolier.
56. M. Thomas Kelly, écolier.
57. M. Joseph Markey, écolier.
58. M. John Macarney (?), écolier.
59. M. Edward Kelly, écolier.
60. M. Dermit MacKean, écolier

Document 11

Ministere de l'Instruction Publique des cultes et des Beaux-Arts, Versailles, 22 Janvier, 1873

Le Président de la République Française,

Sur le rapport du Ministre de l'Instruction publique, des Cultes, et des Beaux-Arts ;

Vu les lettres patentes des 16 septembre, 1623, 16 janvier, 1672, et du mois d'août, 1677, autorisant l'établissement à Paris du collége des Irlandais ;

Vu l'arrêté des consuls du 19 fructidor an IX, le décret du 28 floréal an XIII, les ordonnances des 21 juin 1814, 30 octobre 1815, 12 août 1817, 17 decembre 1818, rétablissant ou réorganisant le bureau gratuit d'administration institué en 1736 sous le nom de commission ;

Vu les arrêtés ministériels des 6 février et 28 novembre 1850, 11 août 1856 et 1858, qui ont successivement réuni, puis séparé les fonctions de Supérieur et d'administrateur du séminaire Irlandais ;

Le Conseil d'État entendu,

DÉCRÉTE : ARTICLE 1

LE Supérieur du collége des Irlandais établi à Paris est nommé par le Ministre de l'Instruction publique et révoqué par lui.

Il est choisi parmi les prêtres catholiques d'Irlande.

Aussitôt après sa nomination, il devra, s'il n'est pas naturalisé, demander l'autorisation d'établir son domicile en France, pour obtenir la jouissance des droits civils.

ARTICLE 2

LE Supérieur est chargé de la direction intérieure du collége, sous l'autorité du Ministre de l'Instruction publique.

Article 3

La régie des biens et des fondations est confiée, sous l'autorité du Ministre de l'Instruction publique, au bureau gratuit institué par l'ordonnance royale de 1736, l'arrêté du 19 fructidor an IX (art. 3), le décret du 28 floréal an XIII (art. 14), les ordonnances des 21 juin 1814 (art. 4), 30 octobre 1815, 12 août 1817 (art. 1er) et 17 décembre 1818 (art. 18).

Le bureau gratuit sera désormais composé de sept membres, savoir :

Un conseiller d'État ;

Un conseiller à la Cour de cassation ;

Un conseiller à la Cour des comptes ; élus par le corps auquel ils appartiennent ;

Un délégué de l'Archevêque de Paris ;

Deux membres désignés par le Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Cultes ;

Le Supérieur du collége.

Article 4

Le bureau élit dans son sein, parmi les membres autres que le Supérieur, un président et un secrétaire. Il s'assemble au moins une fois par mois, sur la convocation du président.

Il ne peut délibérer si la majorité des membres n'est présente.

Les délibérations sont signées par tous les membres qui y ont pris part.

Les frais de bureau ne peuvent dépasser annuellement la somme de cinq cents francs.

Article 5

Le Président a voix prépondérante en cas de partage.

Il représente le bureau gratuit auprès du Ministre de l'Instruction publique, et correspond avec l'administration.

ARTICLE 6

UN délégué du bureau, choisi parmi les membres autres que le Supérieur, a la garde des titres ; il est chargé de toucher les revenus mobiliers et immobiliers. Il représente l établissement vis-a-vis des tiers et pour tous les actes de la vie civile.

Les revenus qu'il recouvre sont versés par lui intégralment et sans retard au Trésor, qui ouvre un compte courant au Ministre de l'Instruction publique pour le service de l'établissement.

Il transmet au Ministre les récépissés délivrés par le Trésor.

Sur le vu de ces récépissés et des propositions de dépenses faites par le bureau gratuit, conformément au budget ou aux décisions spéciales, le Ministre délivre des mandats sur le Trésor.

ARTICLE 7

LE Ministre de l'Instruction publique nomme les professeurs. Il nomme aussi l'économe, sur la proposition du bureau gratuit.

ARTICLE 8

LES budgets et les comptes et la nomination aux bourses sont approuvés par le Ministre de l'Instruction publique, sur la proposition du bureau gratuit. Les emplois de fonds disponibles, les baux à long terme, les acquisitions à titre gratuit ou à titre onéreux, les transactions et les instances judiciaires seront soumis aux formes, approbations ou autorisations prescrites pour les établissements publics.

ARTICLE 9

TOUTES les dispositions contraires au présent décret sont et demeurent abrogées.

ARTICLE 10

LE Ministre de l'Instruction publique, des Cultes et des

Beaux-Arts est chargé de l'exécution du présent décret.

Fait à Versailles, le 22 janvier 1873.

Signé : A. THIERS.

Par le Président de la République :
Le Ministre de l'Instruction publique, des Cultes et des Beaux-Arts,
Signé : JULES SIMON.

Pour ampliation :
Le chef de la division de la comptabilité centrale,
A. BOUIN.

Decret Supplementaire

LE Président de la République Française,

Sur le rapport du Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts,

Vu le décret du 22 janvier 1873, portant réorganisation du collége des Irlandais ;

Le Conseil d' État entendu,

DÉCRÉTE : ARTICLE I

LE premier paragraphe de l'article Ier, l'article 7 et l'article 8 du décret du 22 janvier 1873, sont modifiés ainsi qu'il suit :

Art. Ier, § 1er. Le supérieur du collége des Irlandais établi à Paris est nommé par le Ministre de l'Instruction publique, sur la proposition de l'archevêque de Paris ; il est révoqué par le Ministre.

Art. 7. Le Ministre de l'Instruction publique nomme les professeurs et l'économe, sur la proposition de l'Archevêque de Paris.

La nomination des boursiers est faite conformément aux titres de fondation.

Elle est confirmée par le Ministre de l'Instruction publique, après avis de l'Archevêque de Paris et du bureau gratuit.

Art. 8. Les budgets et les comptes sont approuvés par le Ministre de l'Instruction publique, sur la proposition du bureau gratuit.

Les emplois de fonds disponibles, les baux à long terme, les acquisitions à titre gratuit ou à titre onéreux,

les transactions et les instances judiciaires seront soumis aux formes, approbations ou autorisations prescrites pour les établissements publics.

ARTICLE 2

Le Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts est chargé de l'exécution du présent décret.

Fait à Paris, le 1er mai 1878.

Signé : MARÉCHAL DE MAC MAHON.

Par le Président de la République,

Le Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts,

Signé : A. BARDOUX.

POUR AMPLIATION :

Le chef du Cabinet et du Secrétariat,

CHARMES.

Document 12

COLLÉGE

DES

IRLANDAIS, ANGLAIS ET ÉCCOSSAIS, RÉUNIS,

Rues du CHEVAL-VERT et des POSTES, à PARIS

SA MAJESTÉ IMPÉRIALE ET ROYALE désirant contribuer autant qu'il est en son pouvoir, à la restauration des études,* a rendu, le 28 floréal an 13, le décret d'où sont tirés les articles suivans :

"ART. Ier. La réunion, en un seul et même établissement, des diverses institutions d'hommes, fondées en France, et dans les pays réunis à son territoire, en faveur des Catholiques Irlandais, Anglais et Ecossais, réunis par les arrêtés des 24 vendémiaire, et 3 messidor an 11, est définitivement confirmée. . . . Leur maison, rue du CHEVAL-VERT, et la maison voisine, dite le SÉMINAIRE ANGLAIS, rue DES POSTES, sont définitivement affectées au service de l'établissement."

Ces deux maisons sont situées agréablement ; on y respire un air salubre. Leur distribution convient à un collége, et elles ont constamment été occupées par des instituteurs. L'une d'elles, outre les salles d'exercice, les classes, le réfectoire, etc., renferme cent huit chambres pour les élèves : une grande partie est à cheminée. Une cour spacieuse et ombragée servira aux récréations.

La seconde maison, qui n'est séparée de la première que par la rue des Postes, est destinée au logement des Professeurs émérites et à l'Infirmerie. Le calme et la vue riante dont on y jouit, et la faculté de se promener

* N. S. P. PIE VII, pendant son séjour à Paris, a bien voulu former les vœux les plus paternels pour le succès de cet établissement.

dans un vaste jardin ont déterminé l'emploi de cette maison. Des étudians en médecine y seront logés. Ils y administreront aux malades les soins nécessaires, sous la direction d'un docteur en médicine jouissant d'une reputation distinguée.

Les Instituteurs particuliers, que les parens pourraient donner à leurs enfans, pour leur faire suivre les divers cours du collége, trouveront dans cette maison un logement convenable.

"ART. VII. Les Professeurs et Répétiteurs, l'Econome et le Receveur seront subordonnés à l'Administrateur général : ils seront nommés, sur sa présentation et l'avis du Bureau gratuit, par le Ministre de l'Intérieur ; ils seront révocables de la même manière."

L'Administrateur général, M. WALSH, Docteur en Théologie de la Faculté de Paris, ne choisira pour ses coopérateurs que des hommes aussi recommandables par leurs principes que par leurs talens.

"ART. XV. Le Bureau de Surveillance, créé par l'arrêté du 19 fructidor an 9, surveillera toutes les parties intérieures de l'établissement . . . ."

LES MEMBRES DE CE BUREAU SONT :

Monseigneur l'Archevêque de Paris ;

Le Conseiller-d'Etat, préfet du département de la Seine ;

Le premier Président de la Cour d'Appel de Paris ;

Le Procureur-général Impérial de la même cour ;

Un membre du Conseil-général du Dép.

Un Administrateur des Lycées.

"ART. XLII. Les Evêques auront la faculté d'envoyer des étudians déjà promus aux ordres sacrés, pour perfectionner leurs études, en subissant des examens, et soutenant des thèses, et par là mériter chacun un diplome analogue à sa capacité. . . ."

"ART. XLIII. Les Etudians appelés à l'état ecclésiastique, en s'attachant principalement aux sciences sacrées, ne négligeront pas les sciences naturelles qui

caractérisent une éducation libérale et soignée. Réciproquement, les Etudians qui s'appliqueront aux sciences naturelles seront tenus d'apprendre en même temps la Religion et les principes de la Morale Chrétienne."

"ART. XLIV. Les Pensionnaires envoyés pour cultiver une science particulière, suivront les leçons analogue aux vues des parens."

L'enseignement général sera basé sur les principes adoptés par l'ancienne et célèbre UNIVERSITÉ de Paris. Des Docteurs, Licenciés et Bacheliers en Théologie enseigneront respectivement le Dogme et la saine Philosophie en *latin;* la Morale et l'Histoire ecclésiastique dans les langues anglaise et française ; les Mathématiques, l'Astronomie et la Géographie élémentaires dans les mêmes langues.

Il y aura dans ce Collége une Classe de haute littérature. Son objet spécial sera l'étude approfondie des morceaux les plus éloquens que présentent les ouvrages des auteurs anciens et modernes, tant sacrés que profanes. Cette Classe suivra immédiatement celle de Philosophie, afin que les Elèves puissent allier les grâces du style oratoire à la justesse des idées et à la force du raisonnement.

Chaque Classe des humanités sera confiée à un Professeur d'un talent distingué.

Des Prêtres anglais, résidant dans le Collége, présideront aux divers Exercices qui se feront dans leur langue ; et pour que les Elèves puissent s'y perfectionner plus facilement, la conversation aura lieu tour à tour en anglais et en français.

La nourriture sera saine et abondante. L'Administrateur, les Professeurs et les Elèves, ne formant qu'une même famille, prendront leurs repas dans un réfectoire commun.

On veillera avec le plus grand soin à ce que les Pensionnaires soient toujours vêtus proprement et décemment.

On cherchera à leur inspirer cette aménité, cette prévenance et ces égards que tout homme bien né doit porter dans la société.

Les parens trouveront dans le Collége des Maîtres d'agrément dans tous les genres.

Les Elèves déjà inscrits seront reçus dans le courant du mois de septembre prochain, et les Exercices littéraires commenceront à la Saint-Remy, époque consacrée par l'ancienne Université.

Paris, ce 1*er* *août*, 1805.

Document 13

Pius Pp IX

DILECTI FILII, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM. Libentissime accepimus vestras litteras intimo erga Nos, et hanc Petri Cathedram, pietatis, observantiæ ac venerationis sensu conscriptas. Ex eisdem autem litteris novimus, Dilecti Filii, quam acerbus sit animi vestri dolor propter nequissimos ac sacrilegos prorsus ausus contra civilem Nostrum et hujus Apostolicæ Sedis principatum, Beatique Petri patrimonium, ab iis hominibus admissos, qui Catholicæ Ecclesiæ, eidemque Sedi omnino infensi et adversi jura omnia divina et humana conculcare non erubescunt. Gratæ Nobis admodum fuerunt hujusmodi præclaræ vestræ significationes omni certe laude dignæ, ex quibus non leve percepimus solatium inter maximas Nostras angustias et amaritudines. Pergite vero, Dilecti Filii, ardentiore usque studio divitem in misericordia Deum orare et obsecrare, ut imperet ventis et mari, atque optatissimam faciat tranquillitatem, et Ecclesiam suam sanctam a tot tantisque calamitatibus eripiat, ac novis, et splendidioribus in dies exornet et augeat triumphis, ac Nos adjuvet et consoletur in omni tribulatione Nostra, atque omnes Ecclesiæ, et hujus Apostolicæ Sedis hostes ad veritatis, justitiæ, salutisque semitas reducere dignetur. Denique cœlestium omnium munerum auspicem, et paternæ Nostræ in Vos caritatis pignus Apostolicam Benedictionem toto cordis affectu Vobis ipsis, Dilecti Filii, peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, die 12 Martii, Anno 1860, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Decimoquarto.

PIUS PP. IX.

Dilectis Filiis, Rectori,
Professoribus, Alumnisque Collegii Hibernorum,
Lutetiæ Parisiorum.

Document 14

List of Bishops who studied in the Irish College, Paris

Compiled from *Lynch; Brady's Episcopal Succession; Renehan's Archbishops; Burke's History of Archbishops of Tuam; and O'Laverty's History of the Diocese of Down and Connor.*

Most Rev. Thomas Dease, Meath, appointed 1621, died 1652.

Most Rev. Malachy O'Queely, Tuam, appointed 1624, died 1645.

Most Rev. Edmond O'Dwyer, Limerick, appointed 1645, died 1654.

Most Rev. John O'Molony, Killaloe, appointed 1630, died 1650.

Most Rev. Walter Lynch, Clonfert, appointed 1647, died 1664.

Most Rev. James O'Phelan, Ossory, appointed 1669, died 1695.

Most Rev. James Duley, Limerick, appointed 1676, died 1684.

Most Rev. John Dempsey, Kildare, appointed 1694, died 1715.

Most Rev. Richard Piers, Waterford, appointed 1696, died 1715.

Most Rev. Denis Moriarty, Kerry, appointed 1703, died 1720.

Most Rev. James O'Gallagher, Raphoe and Kildare, appointed 1725, died 1752.

Most Rev. Christopher Butler, Cashel, appointed 1711, died 1737.

Most Rev. Thaddeus McCarthy, Cork, appointed 1726, died 1740.

Most Rev. Stephen Dowdal, Kildare, appointed 1733, died 1737.

Most Rev. Bernard O'Gara, Tuam, appointed 1723, died 1740.

Most Rev. Ambrose McDermott, Elphin, appointed 1707, died 1717.

Most Rev. Gabriel O'Kelly, Elphin, appointed 1718, died 1731.

Most Rev. Patrick French, Elphin, appointed 1731, died 1748.

Most Rev. Edmund Kelly, Clonfert, appointed 1718, died 1733.

Most Rev. Peter O'Donnellan, Clonfert, appointed 1733, died 1775.

Most Rev. John Armstrong Down, appointed 1727, died 1740.

Most Rev. Neal Conway, Derry, appointed 1727, died 1736.

Most Rev. James M. Brady, Ardagh, appointed 1758, died 1788.

Most Rev. Philip McDevitt, Derry, appointed 1766, died 1798.

Most Rev. Nicholas Madgett, Killaloe, Ardfert, appointed 1752, died 1774.

Most Rev. Matthew McKenna, Cloyne and Ross, appointed 1767, died 1791.

Most Rev. James Butler, Cashel, appointed 1773, died 1791.

Most Rev. Patrick Joseph Plunket, Meath, appointed 1778, died 1827.

Most Rev. Hugh McMullan, Down and Conor, appointed 1779, died 1794.

Most Rev. Patrick McMullan, Down and Conor, appointed 1794, died 1825.

Most Rev. Matthew Lennon, Dromore, appointed 1780, died 1801.

Most Rev. Anthony Coyle, Raphoe, appointed 1782, died 1801.

Most Rev. Gerald Teighan, Kerry, appointed 1787, died 1797.

Most Rev. John Dunne, Ossory, appointed 1787 died 1789.

Most Rev. Francis Moylan, Cork (educated Paris, Toulouse), appointed 1787, died 1803.

Most Rev. William Coppinger, Cloyne, appointed 1791, died 1830.

Most Rev. John Murphy, Cork, appointed 1815, died 1847.

Most Rev. William O'Higgins, Ardagh, entered college 1818, appointed 1829, died 1851.

Most Rev. Edward Maginn, coadjutor, Derry, appointed 1845, died 1849.

Most Rev. William Keane, Ross, Cloyne, entered college 1824, appointed 1850, died 1874.

Most Rev. Michael O'Hea, Ross, entered college 1824, appointed 1857, died 1876.

Most Rev. James Ryan, coadjutor, Killaloe, entered college 1826, consecrated 1872, died 1889.

Most Rev. Lawrence Gillooly, Elphin, entered college 1836, appointed 1856, died 1894.

Most Rev. Thomas Croke, Cashel, entered college 1839, appointed 1875.

Most Rev. William Fitzgerald, Ross, entered 1853, appointed 1877, died 1897.

Most Rev. Thomas McRedmond, Killaloe (educated Paris, Maynooth), entered college 1853, appointed 1890.

Most Rev. Hugh McSherry, vicar apostolic Port Elizabeth, South Africa, entered college 1871, appointed 1896.

Most Rev. Denis Kelly, Ross, entered college 1872, appointed 1897.

Bishops who were Superiors or Professors of the Irish College, Paris, though educated elsewhere

Most Rev. David Moriarty, Kerry, professor from 1839–1843.

Most Rev. James Donnelly, Clogher, professor from 1855–1857.

Most Rev. James Lynch, Kildare, superior from 1858–1866.

Most Rev. Neal McCabe, Ardagh, superior 1866–1868.

His Eminence Michael, Cardinal Logue, professor from 1866–1874.

Bishops interred in Lombard College

Most Rev. John Molony, Killaloe, died 1702.

Most Rev. Dominic Maguire, O.P., Armagh, died 1707.

Most Rev. James Lynch, Tuam, died at Irish College 1713.

Administrators

The Provisors, 1681–1788.

Rev. John Baptist Walsh, D.D., 1788–1800.
Rev. John Baptist Walsh, D.D. 1802–1813.
Rev. Richard Ferris, 1813.
Rev. Paul Long, 1814.
Rev. Richard Ferris, 1814–1815.
Rev. Paul Long, 1815–1819.
Rev. Richard Ferris, 1819–1820.
Rev. Charles Kearney, 1820–1824.
} Under Bureau de Surveillance

Superiors of College, 1824-1850.
Abbé Caire, 1850–1854.
Dr Miley, 1854–1859.
Abbé Lacroix, 1859–1873.
Bureau Gratuit, 1873–1901.

Document 15

Superiors, Irish College, Paris

Rev. John Lee, 1578.
Rev. Thomas Deise, D.D., 1620.
Rev. Thomas Messingham, D.D., Protonotary apost. 1621.
Rev. Edward Tyrell, D.D., Socius of Navarre, 1651.
Rev. Mr Taff, 1657.

Lombard College

Rev. Patrick Maginn, D.D., 1681.
Rev. Malachy Kelly, D.D., 1681.
Rev. Charles Magennis, D.D., 1685.
Rev. Richards Piers, B.D., 1685.
Rev. Dermit O'Daly, B.D., *locum tenens*, 1685.
Rev. Robert Cusack, 1685.
Rev. John Darsy, B.D., 1685.
Rev. Cornelius Nary, D.D., 1693.
Rev. James Merrick, Lec. Theol., 1713.
Rev. John Farely, D.D., Principal, 1728.
Rev. Mark Kirwan, D.D., 1728.
Rev. John Bourk, D.D., 1728.
Rev. Walter Daton, Licent. Theol., 1728.
Rev. John Conry, D.D., 1732.
Rev. James Geoghegan, 1734.
Rev. Abbé McMahon, 1734.
Rev. Abbé Duffy, 1734.
Rev. Abbé Black, 1734.
Rev. Patrick Cor, D.D., 1746.
Rev. James Matthew Brady, 1753.
Rev. James Matthew McKenna, D.D., 1753.
Rev. Francis Devreux, Principal, 1762.
Rev. David Henegan, D.D., 1762.
Rev. Charles O'Neil, 1762.

Rev. Thomas Stafford, D.D., 1762.
Rev. Patrick Kelleher, 1774.
Rev. Patrick Joseph Plunket, D.D., 1775.
Rev. John Burke, 1785.
Rev. Peter Flood, D.D., 1782.
Rev. John Baptist Walsh, D.D., Superior, 1788.

Superiors of the Clerics

Rev. Andrew Donlevy, 1728–1746.
Rev. John O'Neil, 1746–1761.
Rev. Lawrence Kelly, 1761.

Rectors of Irish College after 1769

Rev. Lawrence Kelly, D.D., 1769–1777.
Rev. Michael Cahill, D.D., 1777–1779.
Rev. James Markey, D.D., 1779-1783.
Rev. Charles Kearney, D.D., 1783-1800.
Rev. John Baptist Walsh, D.D., 1802–1814.
Rev. Paul Long, D.D., 1814–1818.
Rev. Charles Kearney, D.D., 1820–1824.
Rev. John Ryan, D.D., 1824–1827.
Rev. Patrick Magrath, D.D., 1827–1828.
Rev. Patrick McSweeny, D.D., 1828–1850.
Rev. John Miley, D.D., 1850-1858.
Rev. James Lynch, C.M., 1858–1866.
Rev. Neal McCabe, C.M., 1866–1868.
Rev. Thomas McNamara, C.M , 1868–1889.
Rev. Patrick Boyle, C.M., 1889.

College Officials and Professors after 1800

Vice Rectors

Abbé Fontanel, 1805.
Rev. John Rogers, 1818.
Rev. Patrick McSweeney, 1827.
Rev. William Keane, 1828.
Rev. David Moriarty, 1839.

Rev. Abbé O'Loughlin, 1849.
Rev. Matthew Kavanagh, C.M., 1858.
Rev. Andrew Campbell, C.M., 1859.
Rev. Thomas Murphy, C.M., 1862.
Rev. George Campbell, C.M., 1886.
Rev. William Byrne, C.M., 1893.
Rev. Michael Brosnahan, C.M., 1894.
Rev. John McGuinness, C.M., 1897.

Bursars

Rev. Patrick McNulty, 1807.
Rev. James Lynch, 1828.
Abbé Sheehan, 1849.
Rev. William Fahy, 1853.
Rev. M. Bougheaud, C.M., 1858.
Rev. Theodore Clue, C.M., 1859.
Rev. John Myers, C.M., 1860.
Rev. Thomas Murphy, C.M., 1861.
Rev. Joseph Hanley, C.M., 1886.
Rev. Patrick McKenna, C.M. 1893.
Rev. James Rooney, C.M. 1894
Rev. Patrick J. Hullen, C.M., 1895.

Moral Theology

William O'Higgins, D.D., 1820.
Abbé Icard, 1828.
Rev. Terence O'Rorke, 1849.
Rev. Andrew Campbell, C.M., 1858.
Rev. Francis Cooney, C.M., 1862.
Rev. John Burke, C.M., 1866.
Rev. Martin Whitty, C.M., 1891.
Rev. William Byrne, C.M., 1893.
Rev. Michael Brosnahan, C.M., 1894.
Rev. Patrick O'Regan, C.M., 1897.

Dogmatic Theology

Rev. William O'Higgins, 1820.
Rev. Patrick M'Sweeny, 1827.

Rev. William Keane, 1829.
Rev. Matthew Kelly, 1840.
Rev. Thomas Croke.
Rev. J. Rice, 1849.
Rev. Thomas FitzPatrick, C.M., 1859.
Rev. John McDermott, 1863.
Rev. Thomas Lalor, 1865.
Rev. Michael Logue, D.D., 1866.
Rev. Patrick Campbell, 1874.
Rev. Daniel Brosnahan, C.M., 1881.
Rev. Michael Maher, C.M., 1987.
Rev. William Clery, 1888.
Rev. John McGuinness, C.M., 1889.

Scripture and Canon Law

Rev. Thomas McHale, D.D., 1849.
Rev. Peter Timlin, C.M., *locum tenens*, 1863.
Rev. George Campbell, C.M., 1881.
Rev. John Flynn, C.M., 1893.
Rev. Patrick Dowling, C.M., 1897.
Rev. John Flynn, C.M., 1899.

Ecclesiastical History

Rev. Patrick McKenna, C.M., 1859.
Rev. Thomas Plunket, C.M., 1860.
Rev. Thomas Murphy, C.M., 1862.
Rev. Joseph Hanley, C.M., 1886.
Rev. Michael Flynn, C.M., 1892.
Rev. Patrick McKenna, C.M., 1893.
Rev. Patrick Dowling, C.M., 1897.
Rev. Denis O'Sullivan, C.M., 1900.

Philosophy, Mental Philosophy and Physics

Rev. M. H. McCabe, 1820.
Rev. Abbé Salaroit, 1828.
Rev. Matthew Kelly, 1839.
Rev. Denis Gargan, 1843.
Rev. J. Rice, 1845.

Rev. Lawrence Gillick, 1849.
Rev. P. Lavelle, 1853.
Rev. Thomas FitzPatrick, C.M., 1858.
Rev. Philip Burton, C.M., 1860.
Rev. Thomas Kinane, 1862.
Rev. Daniel Kelleher, 1865.
Rev. Joseph Fennelly, 1871.
Rev. Daniel Brosnahan, C.M., 1874.
Rev. Michael Maher, C.M., 1881.
Rev. William Byrne, C.M., 1887.

Mental Philosophy

Rev. Michael Quinn, 1889.
Rev. Patrick O'Regan, C.M., 1894.
Rev. Patrick O'Gorman, C.M., 1897.
Rev. John Ballesty, C.M., 1900.

Natural Philosophy

Rev. John Clarke, 1889.
Rev. Joseph Boyle, 1892.
Rev. Patrick O'Regan, C.M., 1894.
Rev. Patrick O'Doherty, 1895.

Rhetoric

Rev. Abbé Kerr, 1849.
Rev. James Donnelly, 1855.
Rev. John M'Cann, C.M., 1858.
Rev. Patrick M'Donough, 1859.
Rev. Edward Guerin, C.M., 1866.
Rev. George Campbell, C.M., 1867.
Rev. Matthew Ryan, 1871.
Rev. Thomas Hardy, C.M., 1872.
Rev. Daniel Brosnahan, C.M., 1873.
Rev. James Carlin, 1878.
Rev. Anthony Clancy, 1879.
Rev. John Ward, C.M., 1881.

Rev. Michael Carrigy, C.M., 1884.
Rev. Michael Gannon, C.M., 1886.

Rhetoric discontinued since 1889.

French

Rev. Abbé Charles Ouin Lacroix, 1851.
Rev. Peter Byrne, C.M., 1867.
Rev. Robert Ryan, C.M., 1868.
Rev. George Campbell, C.M., 1869.
Rev. Thomas Hardy, C.M., 1871.
Rev. William Byrne, C.M., 1889.
Rev. Joseph Hanley, C.M., 1892.
French Extern Professor since 1893.

Document 16

Bureau Gratuit

Extract from Royal Decree, August 11, 1819
Sont Nommes membres honoraires

M. le M^al Duc de TARENTE.
M. le Duc de FITZ-JAMES.
M. le Marquis de LALLY-TOLLENDAL.
M. le Lieutenant-Général Cte O'MAHONY.

Membres ordinaires

M. HELY D'OISSEL, Conseiller d'état, Président.

M. le POITEVIN, Conseiller à la Cour Royale, Vice-Président.

M. BENOIST, Membre de la Chambre des Députes.

M. CLEMENT, ancien député.

M. DESPRÈS, Notaire.

M. MACMAHON, ancien élève, et Medecin des etablissements.

M. NOEL, Inspecteur General de l'Université.

M. NOLINIER DE MONTPLANQUER, ancien Maire du 12 arrondt.

M. WILLEMSEENS.

Bureau since 1873

M. le Marquis de SEGUR, Conseiller d'Etat, Président 1873.

M. J. B. ONOFRIO, Conseiller à la Cour de Cassation, Président 1879.

Bureau in 1901

M. T. CREPON, Conseiller H^e á la Cour de Cassation, Président.

M. de MESNIL, Conseiller d'Etat.

M. P. Musnier de PLEIGNES, Conseiller au Cour des Comptes.

M. N. BETTEMBOURG, c.m. Délégué de l'archevêque de Paris, Trésorier et Délégué.

M. Paul FERRAND, Chef de Division au Ministere.

M. Eugene de GOYON, Chef du Bureau des Pensions de l'Instruction Pub^que^ Secrétaire.

M. P. BOYLE, superieur du Collége.

Document 17

List of Benefactors

Baron de L'Escalopier, 1605.
The Abbé Bailly, 1677–1692.
The Abbé Vaubrun, 1746.
Rev. Patrick Maginn, D.D.
Rev. Malachy Kelly, D.D.

Founders of Burses

Province of Munster

Lismore: Connery, 1761.

Cashel: O'Carrol, 1724; Most Rev. James Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, 1777; Mrs John O'Meagher, transfer from Poitiers, 1774.

Cork: Jeremiah O'Crowley (Mr), transfer from Poitiers, 1774; Claudius Callanan (Mr), 1779; Rev. David Henegan, provisor, 1774.

Killaloe: Most Rev. John Molony, bishop 1702.

Killaloe and Kilfenora: Bartholomew Murry, M.D., 1761.

Limerick: Rev. John Hanrahan, P.P., 1781; Most Rev. Cornelius O'Keefe, bishop, 1704; Thady McCarthy (Rabagh), 1729.

Kerry: Thaddeus O'Connell, M.D., 1775; Rev. James McDonough, P.P., 1780; Rev. John Malone, P.P., Castle Island, 1784; Rev. Eugene Aherne, D.D., P.P., Lixnaw, 1748; Most Rev. Denis Moriarty, bishop, 1753; Rev. Richard Moore, canon of Senlis, 1761; Rev. Gerald Moore, canon of Montpellier, 1761.

Cloyne and Ross: Most Rev. Matthew McKenna, provisor, bishop, 1760; John O'Brien, bishop of Cloyne; Denis and Thomas Duff O'Brien.

Province of Leinster

Dublin: Most Rev. Luke Fagan, archbishop, 1733; Rev. William Fitzherbert, priest, 1763; Rev. Patrick Byrne, P.P. Wicklow, 1766.

Kildare: Rev. Robert MacCormack, P.P. Carbery, 1748; Rev. Philip Rousse, P.P. Kildare, 1781.

Province of Connaught

Tuam: Rev. Nicholas Brown, royal chaplain, 1788; Most Rev. James Lynch, archbishop, 1711; Rev. David Flynn, chaplain to James III at Versailles, 1754.

Clonfert: Rev. James Merrick, provisor, 1733.

Elphin: Rev. Michael Daly, Prêtre Habitué, Paris, 1785; Rev. Thomas Stafford, provisor, 1781; Rev. John Plunket, D.D., provisor and Theol. Royal Prof., Navarre, 1785.

Achonry: Rev. Bernard Moreveinagh, chaplain to Irish Brigade, 1718.

Galway: St Nicolas Vicars.

Province of Ulster

Armagh: Rev. Andrew Bannan, P.P., Disart, 1755.

Ardagh: Rev. John MacBrady, priest at Tours, 1774; Rev. Alexander McCabe, P.P., Gartilitragh, 1761.

Clogher: Very Rev. Arthur McMahon, provost of the Collegiate Church of Cassel Flanders, 1714; Rev. Henry O'Neil, Curé de Fontaine la Rivière, 1751; Rev. James Duffy, P.P., priest.

Kilmore: Rev. John Farely, priest, and Mr Farely, M.D., 1768.

Dromore and Down: Very Rev. Patrick Maginn, D.D., Founder, 1682; Andrew Barnwell.

Meath: Abbé Plunket.

Bursars at the Nomination of the Administrator

James Lannan, M.D., 1731; Rev. Thomas Austin, St Nicholas, Dublin, 1728; Miss Griselle O'Rorke, 1779;

Rev. Joseph Walsh, P.P., Lusk, 1732; Mr Tobias Walsh, 1715.

Donations to Community

Rev. Michael Cahill, D.D., Rector, Irish College, 1779.

Mr Perrotin de Beaumont, Chev de l'ordre de St-Michel, 1744.

Miss Power, 1755.

Rev. Kelly, Sacristan at the St-Esprit, 1769.

Most Rev. James Brady, bishop of Ardagh, provisor, 1772.

Mr Stafford, at Avignon, 1780.

Bartholomew Murry, M.D., 1761.

Foundations for Masses

1. Masses of Lombard College.
2. Rev. Daniel Heffernan, P.P., Dublin, 1782.
3. Mr Paul Mahon, bourgois, Dublin, 1785.
4. Rev. Raymond Stapelton, priest, 1723.
5. Bartholomew Murry, M.D., 1761.
6. Mlle de la Noue, 1737.
7. Mrs Elizabeth Andrews, 1777.
8. Mr Taylor, 1775.
9. Rev. Abbé O'Donnell, 1869.

Document 18

Inscriptions on Tombs in the Old Lombard College

I

Hic jacet
CAROLUS MAGENIS
Hujusce Collegii Provisor Obiit
Calendis Aprilis
An. 1710
Requiescat in Pace

II

Hic jacet
M. JOANNES FARLEY
S. Fac. Par. Dr hujusce Collegii
Per plures annos
Provisor et Primarius
Indefessus Obiit die
Jun. 7 anno 1736
Requiescat in Pace

III

Hic jacet
M. PATRICIUS CORR
Sacræ Fac. Paris. Doctor
Hujusce Collegii per
Octo annos Provisor
Mansuetudine et
Pietate insignis Obiit
Die 23 Feb. anno 1746
Ætatis 40
Requiescat in Pace

IV

Hic jacet
M. ANDREAS DONLEVY
Communitatis Clericorum
Hibernorum per 24
Annos Præfectus et
Ejusdem Restaurator
Seu potius Fundator
Obiit die 7a Xbris anno
1746 Ætatis 66
Requiescat in Pace

V

Hic jacet
M. JOANNES O'NEILL
Communitatis Clericorum
Hibernorum per 14 annos
Et tres menses Præfectus
ac Andreæ Donlevy
Successor vigilantissimus
Obiit die 6ª Martii
Anno 1761 Ætatis 63
Requiescat in Pace.

VI*

Hic jacet
M. BARTHOLOMÆUS MURRY
Saluberrimæ Facultatis
Parisiensis Doctor Regens
Qui omnem Rem suam haud
Mediocrem Communitati
Clericorum Hibernorum
Donavit anno 1761, Obiit
Die 8ª Januarii
Anno 1767 Ætatis 72
Requiescat in Pace

VII

Hic jacet
R. P. JACOBUS MURRY
Ord. Prædic. M. . . .
Bartholomæi Murry
Frater dilectissimus
Obiit die 14 Aprilis
Anno 1767 Ætatis 64
Requiescat in Pace

Memorial tablets taken from the Lombard College, and now in the College, 5, Rue des Irlandais

No. I

Hic
Jacet cor illustrissimi viri Domini Dni.
Patritii Maginn, Abbatis Thulensis,
Utriusque juris doctoris, Carolo Secundo
Regi Magnae Britaniae chari, ejusque
Sponsae Catherinae ab eleemosynis primi;

* Nos. VI and VII are in a hall in the old Lombard College, and covered by the wainscotting.

Qui hocce Longobardorum Collegium
Vetustate omnino collapsum, a rege
Christianissimo Ludovico decimo-quarto
Hibernis praesbiteris studiorum causa
Parisiis degentibus donatum, peritissimo
Doctore, piissimoque sacerdote, Dno
Malachia Kelly Hiberno equaliter adjuvante, a
Fundamentis restauravit anno Dni 1677.
Requiescat in Pace.
Hoc monumentum amico et parenti suo
Posuit Arthurus Magneisse
Ob. die 16 April an. 1683, an. suae aet. 65.

No. II

In spem resurrectionis
Clarissimus Vir D. D. Malachias Kelly, S. Th. Doctor
Abbas Beatae Mariae De Owney
Serenissimae Mariae Gonzagae Polonorum Reginae
Olim a Confessionibus, Postea Ludovici Magni
Regis Christianissimi a Consiliis et Eleemosynis. Nec non
Collegii hujusce B. Mariae V. una cum Illustriss. D. D.
Patricio Maginn, Abbate Thulensi, indefessus
Restaurator laudatissimam Vitam cum Morte Christiana
Commutavit die 22. April. an. Mil. Sexcent.
Octog. Quart, Aetat. vero Septuag. Tertii
Mandavit inter caetera
Ut singuli Presbyteri hoc in Collegio mansuri
Intra quartam ab Ingressu suo diem, sacrum
Altaris Sacrificium pro Anima ipsius
Offerrent.
Quod ut Religiosius in posterum servaretur
Huicce Marmori inscribi jussit.
Requiescat in Pace.

No. III

D. O. M.
Ac aeternae Memoriae Illustriss.
Domini Nicolai Gulielmi de Bautru
De Vaubrun, Doctoris Sorbonnici, Regi a
lectionibus, Abbatis de Cormerye, Comitis
de Seran, hujusque Collegii per XVIII annos
Superioris beneficii, studio dilatandae fidei in-
census, presbyteros Hibernos Parisiis quaqua-
versum commorantes in unas congregavit aedes,
quas vetustate collapsas impensâ magnâ in
eorum gratiam ex integro effecerat. Splendidum
hocce sacellum extruxit. Quos vivus paterno

animo fuerat complexus, nec moriens munificentiam suam desiderare passus est; quippe qui XXX libellarum turonensium millia illis testamento reliquit. Hi tantarum largitionum rite memores patrono optimo non solum hoc posuere monumentum, sed insuper perenni sanxerunt lege, ut singuli sacerdotes, statim atque in collegio locum fuerint sortiti, sacrum Deo pro anima ejus semel saltem offerant. Obiit vir eximius Die XV IX.bris MDCCXLVI, aetatis anno LXXX.

Requiescat in pace.

No. IV

D. O. M.

Illustmus et Reverendmus ecclesiæ Præsul Joannes O'Molony ex antiquissima familia inter Hibernos ortus Parisiis ab adolescentia educatus et Sacræ Facultatis Parisiensis Doctor, ex canonico Rothomagensi factus, primum Epus Laonensis, sui nominis et familiæ tertius, deinde Episcopus Limericensis, et administrator Laonensis, Catholicæ Religionis et Patriæ ardens zelator, propterea ab Hæreticis sæpe ad necem quæsitus, tandem Parisiis redux exul, huic Collegio in usum Sacerdotum Hibernorum trecentas libellas turonenses annui redditus ex Corde legavit præter mille ducentas libellas in constructionem hujus sacelli semel donatas, obiit die 3a Septembris anno Domini 1702, ætatis suæ anno. 83o.

Requiescat in Pace.

No. V

Hic Jacet Illustmus et Revermus
D.D. Dominicus Maguire, archiepus
Arm; totius Hib. Primas. 21 Sep. ano 1707
Defunctus.

Requiescat in Pace.

No. VI

D. O. M.

Piæ Memoriæ
Clarissimi Nobilissimi
Viri Simonis Luttrel, sub Ludovico Magno Rege Xtianissimo
Militum tribuni, civitatis Dublinensis Hiberniæ Metropolis sub Jacobo 2o Magnæ
Britanniæ Rege Præfecti, qui cum

Rege Catholico pro fide Catholica
exulare maluit, et militando vi-
ctitare quam domi pacatam vitam agere
et amplissimis possess-
ionibus gaudere
Obiit cal 7bris A. R. S. H. : M.D.CXC
ejus que piam memoriam non
ingrata domus huic inscriptam
marmori servari voluit
cujus ipse moriendo non immemor fuit.
Requiescat in Pace.

No. VII

D. O. M.

L' illustre Milles D' O'Cruoly Ca-
pitaine Lieutenant des gensdarmes
anglais du Roi, dont la valeur et la capa-
cite ont ete si célèbres
a laissé par son testament au collége des
Hybernois la somme de 6,000l à condition
qu'ils disent pour le repos de son âme
quatre grandes messes tous les
ans, dont l'une sera dite le 20 octbre
jour du deceds du dict Seigneur arrivé
l'annee 1700; et qu'ils offrent a perpetu-
ite leurs sacrifices et prieres à son intention.
Requiescat in Pace.

Messieurs les Hybernois ont receu la somme cydessus et s'obligent au contenu aux articles du contract de constitution passé le 4 Fevrier 1701 pardevant Ogier Notaire.

No. VIII

Etienne Lubin bourgeois de Paris,
pour le repos de l'ame de Martin
Browne originaire Irlandais son
amy, a fondé dans cette église
une Messe basse a perpetuite
qui doit estre dite le Lundy de
chaque semaine, a commencer
du 30 ocbre 1747. jour du
décès du dit Browne suivant
le contrat passé devant, Mre
Vatry Notaire le 20 Mars 1748.
Curieux
Prie Dieu pour
Lui.

No. IX

Hic Jacet
M. Bartholomæus Murry
Saluberrimæ Facultatis Parisiensis
Doctor Regens
Vir ingenii acumine, prudentia, pietate,
spectabilis
Religioni, Patriæ, amicis, miserisque
Vixit
Eosdem vivos mortuo sibi
Destinavit Hæredes
Omnibus bonis flebilis
Obiit
Die 8° Januarii anno R. S. H. 1767.
Ætatis suæ 72°.
Requiescat in Pace.

No. X

Ci git
M. David Bonnefield
negociant de Bordeaux
né à Limerick en Irlande
Bienfaiteur de ce Collége
decédé à Paris le 28 Mars 1784.
Il a donné des preuves sensibles
de son attachement
pour ses compatriotes
et voulut reposer
parmi eux.

M. Thomas Bonnefield son frère
en approuvant ses dons et son choix
lui érigea ce monument
d'amour fraternel.
Requiescat in Pace.

Lisez Bonfield.

No. XI

Rev. Laurence Kelly, D.D., interred in the chapel of the College, 5 Rue des Irlandais.

Hic jacet
Laurentius Kelly Sacrae Facultatis Parisiensis
Doctor Theologus,
Seminarii Clericorum Hibernorum Parisini
Primum Alumnus deinde Praefectus
Et novae hujusce Domus Fundator.

Vir,
Exquisito in Rebus discernendis Judicio
Rara in gerendis Prudentia
Et Studio in persequendis
Nunquam intermisso,
Sibi creditae Juventutis Felicitati
Cum temporali tum aeternae
Promovendae
Sui semper Prodigus se totum devovit.
Post comparatas tandem Suis Ruri et in Urbe
Non Sine multis Laboribus et Impensis
Aedes,
Situ pariter et Salubritate
Commodissimas
Contracto ex nimia Sollicitudine
Lento et lethali Morbo
Bonorum magis Operum quam Dierum
Plenus ;
Religioni, Patriae, Amicis
Factus Victima
In Spem beatae Immortalitatis
Suos inter Alumnos in Somno Pacis conquiescit
Obiit die 14ª Julii an. D. 1777 Aetatis vero 57.
Requiescat in Pace.

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